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HANDEL IN ITALY¹

THE history of Handel's sojourn in Italy in 1706-10 has yet to be written. No serious attempt has ever been made to elucidate the facts or to establish the chronology of his *Wanderjahre* by any kind of systematic research among the manuscript documents of the period; indeed, his recent biographers have consistently ignored even many of the available printed sources of information, preferring to follow humbly in the footsteps of Mainwaring, and, when they relinquish his amiable guidance, wandering in the direction of fiction rather than of fact. Now Mainwaring, though his biography of Handel was published only a year after the composer's death, did not know Handel personally, and depended for his facts upon John Christopher Smith, the composer's secretary. Smith doubtless was well posted in Handel's later career, but he can have known very little about events that happened years before his own birth, and Mainwaring's account of Handel's early days must therefore be accepted only with the utmost caution. His description of Handel's tour in Italy is obviously incorrect in many details, but it regularly makes its appearance in a more or less garbled form in every new biography of Handel. I cannot pretend that I have made any very elaborate investigations in Italian libraries, but my researches, slight as they have been, have enabled me to correct several time-honoured fallacies, and on one or two points to unravel the somewhat tangled thread of Handelian history.

To trace the story of Handel's Italian trip *ab ovo* we must go back to the year 1703, in the summer of which (according to Mattheson's *Ehrenpforte*) Handel arrived in Hamburg. In the autumn of the same year Hamburg was honoured by a visit from a distinguished stranger in the person of Giovanni Gastone, the second son of Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, a man of the most unsavoury reputation, whose thousand vices have so long been notorious that his one virtue—that of having turned Handel's thoughts in the direction of Italy—should

¹ The substance of this article is shortly to appear in a biography of the composer, published by Messrs. Methuen in their 'New Library of Music.'

in common fairness be given its proper place in history. Gian Gastone, as he was always called, was a man of culture and refinement, though his morals were deplorable. He was hardly more than a boy when his father, anxious for the Medici succession, hurried him into a loveless marriage with a princess of Saxe-Lauenburg, a woman homely of feature, excessively stout, coarse in nature, and violent in temper, who cared for nothing but hunting, and thought a good deal more of her horse than of her husband. Banished from his beloved Florence to a castle in the wilds of Bohemia, linked to a virago whom he detested, Gian Gastone sank almost involuntarily into debauchery and turpitude. At times he would escape the vigilance of his gaoleress and seek consolation in such mild dissipation as the neighbouring German cities could offer. Doubtless it was but a poor substitute for the artistic luxury of Italy, but to the exile it was something to hear music once more and to meet men who could talk to him of other things than shooting birds or chasing stags. On one of these excursions fate led his steps to Hamburg. In the winter of 1703-4 he stayed there for several months, lost a great deal of money at play, and made friends with Handel. Gian Gastone was something of a musician himself. In his younger days he had played the flute, and like his brother Ferdinand he adored opera. It is easy to imagine with what eloquence he discoursed upon his lost fatherland, and how earnestly he recommended the young musician to betake himself to Italy. Mainwaring's account of Handel's relations with Gian Gastone, which has been closely followed by subsequent biographers, is demonstrably sown with inaccuracies. He represents their acquaintance as dating from the production of *Almira* (1705), which is out of the question, since by the autumn of 1704 Gian Gastone was back in Bohemia, trying his utmost to persuade his wife to accompany him to Florence.¹ I gravely doubt, too, whether the prince can have offered to pay the expenses of Handel's trip to Italy. He wanted all the money he could lay hands on for himself, and no man was ever in a worse position for playing *Mæcenas* to a promising young musician. He was always in debt, and his correspondence with his father is one long cry for money. As a matter of fact, while he was actually at Hamburg, his sister, the Electress Palatine, was moving heaven and earth on his behalf to raise money to pay his gambling debts. But if Gian Gastone was not in a position to play the princely patron, he could promise Handel a kindly reception at his father's court, whenever he was able to make the journey south. We do not know when Handel left Hamburg for Italy, but the fact that Gian Gastone was staying at his father's court from

¹ Robiony, *Gli Ultimi dei Medici*.

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June 1705 to November 1706,¹ makes it at least probable that Handel timed his visit so as to arrive in Florence while his friend was there, since he would naturally wish to be introduced to the Florentine Court under the latter's auspices. I am inclined, therefore, to suggest provisionally that Handel left Hamburg in the summer of 1706, possibly paid a visit on the way to his mother in Halle, crossed the Alps by the well-trodden Brenner route, and reached Florence in September or October.

He found Tuscany groaning beneath the brainless and bigoted sway of the Grand Duke Cosmo III. The glorious traditions of Florentine art were a thing of the past, and the country was sunk in priest-ridden sloth, squalor, and poverty. Of all the arts, music alone received any encouragement at the Court, and this was due not to the Grand Duke, but to his eldest son Ferdinand, the *Gran Principe*, as he was always called, who was an excellent musician and an enlightened and intelligent patron of the art. Ferdinand kept up the best traditions of the Medici family in this respect. All forms of music received his patronage, but to opera he was particularly devoted. In his beautiful villa at Pratolino, high up in the lovely valley of the Mugnone, some dozen miles from Florence, he had built a magnificent theatre, where every autumn operatic performances were given that were the talk of all Italy. Ferdinand was on the friendliest terms with Alessandro Scarlatti and other noted musicians of the day; indeed, Scarlatti's letters to him, which are preserved in the Medici archives, show that his musical culture was something far above that of the average dilettante princeling.² We find Scarlatti consulting him as to the composition of his operas, and thanking him for suggestions in a manner very different from that in which the humble composer usually addressed his princely patron. Ferdinand had doubtless been prepared by Gian Gastone for Handel's visit, and if, as I suppose, Handel arrived at Florence in the autumn of 1706, he doubtless made his way speedily to Pratolino, where Ferdinand and his Court were by that time established.

I have very little doubt that Handel wrote his opera *Rodrigo* in response to a commission from Ferdinand, but with regard to its production nothing is known with any certainty. The autograph, which is at Buckingham Palace, is incomplete, and the last leaf, on which Handel doubtless, according to his invariable rule, recorded the date of his completion of the work, is missing. No copy of the libretto seems to have survived, though it is more than probable that Handel,

¹ Portinari, *Diario*, 1700-90 (Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence).

² E. J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*.

according to the fashion of the time, re-set the words of a certain *Roderico*, which had been performed in 1692 in the presence of Ferdinand by the members of the Accademia degli Innominati. *Rodrigo* is not mentioned by Allacci, whose *Drammaturgia* (Venice, 1755) is a tolerably complete record of the Italian opera of the period, and Puliti, who, in his *Cenni storici della vita di Ferdinando dei Medici*, gives an exhaustive catalogue of the musical works performed at Pratolino, knows nothing of the production of *Rodrigo*, though he corrects Mainwaring's statement with regard to the present which Handel received on the occasion of its performance. According to him it was Prince Ferdinand and not the Grand Duke who gave Handel a hundred sequins, together with a service, not of silver, as Mainwaring states, but of porcelain.

I had imagined that *Rodrigo* might have been performed during one of Ferdinand's visits to Leghorn, a city which he frequented during the heat of the summer, and whose theatre under his patronage became famous for the excellence of its operatic performance. Mr. Montgomery Carmichael, however, who has most kindly ransacked the records of the city on my behalf, assures me that this is not the case. We may presume, therefore, that *Rodrigo*, if it was performed at all, which I am beginning to doubt, was given at one of the Florentine theatres¹—probably during the Carnival season of 1707, which Ferdinand passed in the capital—or in the Pitti Palace before the Grand Ducal Court, as was the case with an opera entitled *Enea in Italia*, which was produced there in 1698 in honour of the birthday of the Grand Duchess Vittoria.

Rodrigo has proved a stumbling-block to Handel's biographers in many ways, not least in the romantically sentimental legend of Vittoria Tesi the singer, which has twined itself around the story of the production of the opera, and, although completely disproved twenty years ago by Signor Ademollo in his pamphlet, *G. F. Hændel in Italia*, still lingers on in English biographies of the composer. Let us trace the legend to its source. Mainwaring writes: 'Vittoria, who was much admired both as an actress and a singer, bore a principal part in this opera. She was a fine woman, and had for some time been much in the good graces of his Serene Highness.' The reverend gentleman then suggests that 'Handel's youth and comeliness, joined with his fame and abilities in music, had made impressions on her heart'. It will be observed that Mainwaring speaks of the lady merely as Vittoria. It was left for Chrysander to jump to the conclusion that the famous Vittoria Tesi was the singer in question, and

¹ Signor Giuseppe Conti in his *Firenze dai Medici ai Lorena* gives a list of twenty theatres existing in Florence at this time.

under his fostering care the legend grew to such ample proportions that the passion of La Tesi for Handel, her pursuit of him to Venice, and the triumphs that she won there in his *Agrippina* are now part of the stock in trade of every hack musical historian. Neither Chrysander nor his copyists seem to have remembered the fact that Vittoria Tesi was a contralto, whereas the heroines of *Rodrigo* and *Agrippina* are both sopranos. But biographers are notorious sentimentalists, and in the supposed necessity of fitting out their hero with a romantic love story such trifles as these are easily ignored. As a matter of fact, at the date of the production of *Rodrigo* Vittoria Tesi was precisely seven years old. Her baptismal register exists in Florence, and was printed by Signor Ademollo in the *Nuova Antologia* for July 16, 1889. Vittoria Tesi was born in 1700, and made her débüt in 1716, when she sang at Parma with the celebrated Cuzzoni in a pastoral entitled *Dafne*. The heroine of *Rodrigo* was a very different person—to wit, Vittoria Tarquini, familiarly called *Bombace* or *Bambagia*, a brilliant singer who had adorned Ferdinand's court since 1697, when he discovered her at Venice, and had taken a prominent part in the operatic performances at Pratolino. As for *La Bombace*'s penchant for Handel, I am not inclined to treat it very seriously. She was a clever woman, and contrived to remain in the good graces of the Prince almost up to the day of her death. The story of her ousting a long-established favourite is told with much gusto in Luca Ombrosi's sketch of Ferdinand's career, and evidently she knew far too well which side her bread was buttered to venture into a damaging liaison with a travelling musician. She did not sing in *Agrippina*, the cast of which is perfectly well known, and the story of her following Handel to Venice is obviously pure romance.

It was probably soon after the production of *Rodrigo* that Handel quitted Florence for Rome. Doubtless he intended to spend Holy Week there, in order to hear the world-famous music associated with the services of the Church. With regard to Handel's arrival at Rome we are on comparatively safe ground. We know by the signed and dated autograph of a setting of the *Dixit Dominus* that he was there on April 4, 1707, and the autograph of a *Laudate pueri* further assures us that he was still there on July 8. The general impression of his biographers seems to be that he then returned to Florence, driven from Rome by the unhealthy climate of the summer and autumn months. But this theory is founded upon a delusion. In those days there existed no prejudice against the Roman summer, and the smart society of Rome braved the terrors of the dog-days with the utmost equanimity—indeed, as Signor Ademollo has pointed out in his *Teatri di Roma*, August seems to have been a favourite month for

social festivities. Moreover, conclusive proof of Handel's presence in Rome during the summer months is furnished by an interesting letter which I discovered last year among the Medici archives preserved in Florence. It was written on September 24, 1707, by a certain Annibale Merlini to Ferdinand dei Medici, and gives a description of a juvenile prodigy who was at that time the great musical sensation of the Eternal City. 'He is a lad of twelve years,' writes Merlini, 'a Roman by birth, who, though of so tender an age, plays the *arciliuto* with such science and freedom that, if compositions he has never even seen are put before him, he rivals the most experienced and celebrated professors, and wins great admiration and well-deserved applause. He appears at the concerts and leading academies of Rome, as, for instance, that of His Eminence Cardinal Ottoboni, and at that which continues daily all the year round at the Casa Colonna, and in the Collegio Clementino, and at these, as in other public academies, he plays *à solo* and in company with all kinds of *virtuosi*. And all this can be testified by the famous Saxon [as Handel was always called by the Italians], who has heard him in the Casa Ottoboni, and in the Casa Colonna has played with him and plays there continually.' This letter is particularly interesting, as it throws valuable light upon the position that Handel had won in the cultivated society of Rome. Ottoboni was one of the most famous and brilliant men of his age. He was at that time a man of forty, handsome in person, aristocratic in manner, profoundly versed in all the culture of the period, and a devoted lover of music. His pet hobby was the *Accademia Poetico-musicale*, to which Merlini refers. The aim of this Academy, which was founded in 1701, was the revival of the ancient glories of Italian sacred music. Ottoboni gathered round him all the poets and musicians of Rome. He held frequent concerts, instituted competitions, and gave magnificent prizes. He was something of a poet himself, and wrote opera and oratorio librettos for Scarlatti. In his young days, too, he had tried his hand at musical composition, but the failure of his opera *Colombo* in 1692 seems to have checked his ambition in that direction.

Blainville, who had been secretary to the States-General at the Court of Spain, was in Rome in the spring of 1707, and in his *Travels* (vol. ii, chap. 40) has left an account of a certain concert at Cardinal Ottoboni's, at which in all probability Handel himself was present: 'His Eminence,' he writes, 'keeps in his pay the best musicians and performers in Rome, and amongst others the famous Archangelo Corelli and young Paolucci, who is reckoned the finest voice in Europe, so that every Wednesday he has an excellent concert in his palace, and we assisted there this very day (May 14, 1707). We were

there served with iced and other delicate liquors, and this is likewise the custom when the Cardinals or Roman princes visit each other. But the greatest inconveniency in all these concerts and visits is that one is pestered with swarms of trifling little abbés, who come thither on purpose to fill their bellies with these liquors, and to carry off the crystal bottles with the napkins into the bargain.'

Under Ottoboni's roof Handel rubbed shoulders with some of the most famous of living musicians, among whom were Caldara, Corelli, and Alessandro Scarlatti. Here also he met Cardinal Benedetto Panfili, who wrote for him the libretto of his allegorical cantata *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*, and the Marquis di Ruspoli, one of Scarlatti's chief patrons, in whose house Handel was staying when he wrote his oratorio *La Resurrezione* in April 1708. Ruspoli was one of the leading lights of the famous Academy of the Arcadians, which had been founded in 1690 'to further the cultivation of the sciences and to awake throughout Italy the taste for humane letters and in particular for poetry in the vulgar tongue'. Everybody in Rome who had any pretensions to culture was an Arcadian. Prelates and painters, musicians and poets, met on equal terms in the delicious gardens of the Roman nobility, where the academical meetings took place. The fiction of Arcadia was kept up even in nomenclature. Every Arcadian was known by a pastoral name. Corelli was christened Arcimelo, Alessandro Scarlatti Terpandro, and Pasquini Protico. These three famous musicians were admitted members in 1706, and from that time forward music played a prominent part in the life of the Academy. No one under the age of twenty-four was available for membership, so that Handel never actually belonged to the Academy, but he was doubtless a frequent guest at the meetings, and took his full share in the musical performances.¹

Handel left Rome some time in the autumn of 1707, and took his way northwards to Venice. He may have passed through Florence on his way, though it is just as likely that he took the alternative route via Terni, Foligno, Loretto, and Ancona; but in any case, Prince Ferdinand was far too busy over the production of Perti's *Dionisio* at Pratolino to attend to Handel. There is not a shadow of likelihood that *Rodrigo* was produced during a possible second visit of Handel's to Florence, for Merlini's letter makes it plain that Handel was in Rome at the end of September, and we know that he must have reached Venice some time during the autumn, since, according

¹ For an account of one of the Academy's music-meetings see Mr. Dent's biography of Scarlatti.

to Chrysander, he was presented to Prince Ernest Augustus of Hanover during this visit, and the Prince was only in Venice from September 30 to the end of November.¹

Handel's two visits to Venice have given grievous cause for stumbling to all his biographers. The original Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, was Mainwaring, who, notoriously inaccurate as he was with regard to times and seasons, confused the two visits and placed the production of *Agrippina* in the first instead of in the second. This error has been reproduced by almost all subsequent biographers, despite the fact staring them in the face in every record of Venetian operatic history that *Agrippina* was produced during the Carnival season of 1709-10. In the first volume of his biography of Handel, published in 1858, Chrysander followed Mainwaring's error, but many years afterwards he admitted his mistake. Unfortunately his recantation appeared in a periodical little read in England (*Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. x, 1894), and passed almost unnoticed, so that modern writers on Handel have gone on light-heartedly copying the original blunder.

In Venice Handel doubtless heard plenty of music, for at that time no fewer than seven theatres were devoted to the cultivation of opera.² Operas by Lotti, Gasparini, Albinoni, and other famous composers were being performed during his visit, and at the Teatro San Cassiano he may have heard the mellifluous tones of Senesino, who was afterwards to give him so much trouble in London. Why Handel wrote nothing himself for any of the Venetian theatres it is hard to say. Perhaps, being a foreigner, he found the doors of the theatres closed to him, or it is possible that he regarded his visit to Venice as a holiday, and did not care to undertake serious work. He seems at any rate to have made some useful friends at Venice. The story of his meeting at a masquerade with Domenico Scarlatti, who was then studying with Gasparini, is too well known for me to repeat it. The two young composers became firm allies, and probably returned together from Venice to Rome, where their famous encounter took place in the palace of Cardinal Ottoboni, at which they were adjudged equal as far as the harpsichord was concerned, while on the organ Handel was admittedly superior.

Reference has already been made to Handel's meeting with Prince Ernest Augustus of Hanover. The Prince was the youngest brother of the Elector of Hanover, who a few years later became George I of England. From all accounts he was a singularly amiable young man, and his correspondence shows him to have been a great lover of

¹ Briefe des Herzogs Ernst August zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg an T. F. D. von Wendl.

² Mission, *New Voyage to Italy*, vol. i, pt. 1.

music. Handel met him at a fortunate moment. The Prince was having a dull time in Venice, for his two companions, Baron von Pallandt and Kammerherr van Fabrice (whose names are worth mentioning, since it has often been said that the Prince was accompanied by Kielmansegg and Steffani), seem to have left their royal master to amuse himself as best he could. Handel's society was, therefore, all the more welcome, and the Prince ended by inviting the composer to pay him a visit at Hanover.

Another grandee who, according to Mainwaring, crossed Handel's path in Venice was the Duke of Manchester, who was an ardent patron of music, and worked as hard as any man of his time towards establishing Italian opera in London. He was Ambassador Extraordinary at Venice from July 1707 to October 1708, and entered with the utmost gusto into the musical life of the city.¹ He gave Vanbrugh material help in choosing the singers for his new opera-house in the Haymarket, and, to judge by his correspondence, spent a good deal more of his time in listening to the newest *virtuosi* and in shopping for the Duchess of Marlborough than in transacting official business. How he first came into contact with Handel we do not know, but he seems to have been struck by the young composer's talent, and at once invited him to London. Handel's arrangements would not allow him to accept the invitation forthwith, but there is no doubt that the Duke's amiable suggestion first turned his thoughts in the direction of England.

Meanwhile he was due back in Rome, where his friends the Arcadians were eagerly awaiting him. The chronology of Handel's Italian travels is so distressingly vague that we know not whether he stayed in Venice for the Carnival or kept his Christmas in Rome. There is an old tradition that Handel spent at least one Christmas in Rome, and heard the *zampognari* or *pifferari*, as the shepherds of the Abruzzi are called, who at that season descend from their mountains and play their quaint bagpipe melodies in the streets of Rome. It has been argued that the superscription *pifa*, which occurs in the autograph of *The Messiah*, implies that the Pastoral Symphony is founded upon one of these shepherd melodies. More probably it is only an imitation of the traditional style, like Corelli's famous Christmas concerto or the lovely pastoral air in Scarlatti's Christmas oratorio, which is quoted by Mr. Dent in his life of that composer. Still, it would be pleasant to think that Handel had heard the *pifferari*, and had listened to the wild music that a century later made so profound an impression upon the youthful Berlioz.

¹ Hist. MSS. Commission, 8th Report, Appendix, pt. 2; Cole, *Historical and Political Memoirs; Duke of Manchester, Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne*.

Whether Handel heard the *pifferari* or not, he was certainly back in Rome early in the spring of 1708, safely established in the palace of his friend the Marquis di Ruspoli. The autograph of the cantata *Lungi dal mio bel Nume*, which is now in the British Museum, is dated 'Roma. Il dì 8 di Marzzi, 1708,' and on April 11 Handel completed his first oratorio, *La Resurrezione*. It has generally been thought that this work was immediately followed by *Il Trionfo del Tempo*, but Mr. Percy Robinson in his recent work, *Handel and his Orbit*, assigns the latter to the previous year, for reasons which, though somewhat slight, are perhaps sufficient when no direct evidence as to the date of composition is forthcoming. *Il Trionfo* was performed under the roof of Cardinal Ottoboni, and it was probably during one of the rehearsals that the brush between Handel and Corelli occurred, the story of which is too well known to bear recapitulation.

Handel left Rome for Naples some time in the earlier part of the year 1708. If Schœlcher's story about *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo*, which is quoted by Chrysander in the preface to his edition of that work, is accepted as trustworthy, Handel was in Naples by the beginning of June. The autograph of *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo*, which is now in the Buckingham Palace Library, is imperfect, wanting the last leaf. This leaf appears to have been transferred to a conducting copy, which eventually came into the possession of a private collector. Schœlcher declared that about the year 1860 this copy was shown to him by the possessor and that he made a note of the date, which appeared in Handel's autograph at the close of the work in these words: 'Napoli li 16 Giugnio 1708.' He could not, however, subsequently discover the possessor, although he believed that his name was Lambert and that he lived in Yorkshire, and Chrysander was unable to discover any traces of the existence of the copy to which Schœlcher referred. Anyhow, it is certain that Handel was in Naples by the beginning of July, for the autograph of the trio *Se tu non lasci amore* is in existence, dated 'li 12 Luglio, 1708, Napoli'.

Naples was a whirlpool of political conflict when Handel arrived there. For some years the struggles for the Spanish succession had disturbed its tranquillity. The Archduke Charles of Austria had been proclaimed King of Spain in 1705, and in 1707 the Austrian troops had occupied Naples. In July 1708 the post of viceroy had just been given to Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani, a Venetian, whose government was little appreciated by the jealous Neapolitans. The city swarmed with Austrian soldiers, discontented for lack of pay and on the lookout for anything that they could pick up. Street disturbances were frequent, and blood flowed freely. Nevertheless, in the palaces of the

nobility life went on much as usual. There was no lack of festivity, and Handel and his music were as welcome in Naples as they had been in Rome. According to Mainwaring 'he had a palazzo at command, and was provided with table, coach and all other accommodations. . . . He received invitations from most of the principal persons who lived within reach of the capital, and lucky was he esteemed who could engage him soonest and detain him longest.' There was a branch of the Arcadian Academy at Naples, and it is almost certain that Handel composed his pastoral cantata, *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo*, for one of its gatherings. Society at Naples was more cosmopolitan than at Rome. Mainwaring says that Handel's chief patroness was a Spanish princess, and it was no doubt for her that he wrote his one extant Spanish song with guitar accompaniment. For another friend he wrote a set of little French *chansons*. But the most influential friend that Handel made in Naples was Cardinal Grimani, the viceroy, who seems to have taken the composer under his special protection, and evidently smoothed the way for his return to Venice and for the production of *Agrippina*. Grimani was a Venetian, and his family owned the theatre of San Giovanni Grisostomo, so that his influence threw open all the doors which had previously been closed to Handel. His amiability carried him still farther. In his leisure moments he trifled not unsuccessfully with the muse, and he paid Handel the compliment of writing for him the libretto of *Agrippina*. A note in Bonlini's *Glorie della Poesia* has been strangely misinterpreted by Chrysander. Referring to *Agrippina* the author observes: 'This drama, as also *Elmiro*, *Re di Corinto* and *Orazio*, performed more than twenty years before at the same theatre, boast a common origin from a sublime fount.' The 'sublime fount' is, of course, Cardinal Grimani, who wrote the librettos of *Elmiro* and *Orazio*, produced respectively at the theatre of San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1687 and 1688; but Chrysander, with the most fantastic ingenuity, tried to twist out of the words a reference to Florence, the cradle of opera, in order to justify his view of the chronology of Handel's travels.

How long Handel stayed in Naples it is impossible to say, but he must have been back in Rome by the spring of 1709, since he undoubtedly made Steffani's acquaintance during his stay in Italy, and Steffani, who had been sent on a diplomatic mission to the Papal Court by the Elector Palatine, reached Rome in October 1708, and left it on his homeward journey in April 1709.¹ Steffani had been Kapellmeister at Hanover since 1685, and was now on the look-out

¹ Woker, *Aus den Papieren des Kurfürstlichen Ministers Agostino Steffani* (Vereinschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft, 1885).

for a promising successor. He must have known Handel well by reputation, since his former pupil and assiduous correspondent, Sophia Charlotte, the Queen of Prussia, was one of the young composer's earliest patronesses. He probably met Handel beneath the hospitable roof of Cardinal Ottoboni, and it was doubtless on this occasion that Handel heard him sing—a performance which he subsequently described to Hawkins: 'He was just loud enough to be heard, but this defect in his voice was amply compensated by his manner, in the chasteness and elegance of which he had few equals.' This incident is unanimously referred by Handel's biographers to his visit to Rome in 1729, which he is no less unanimously declared to have made in Steffani's company, regardless of the fact that Steffani breathed his last on February 12, 1728.¹

Whether Handel travelled northward with Steffani or remained in Rome we do not know; indeed, our complete ignorance of his movements during the greater part of 1709 opens a wide field for the speculations of students. Mr. P. Robinson in his *Handel and his Orbit* has propounded a theory that in the spring or summer of this year Handel visited the shores of the lake of Como, stayed with friends at Urio and Erba, two villages in the neighbourhood, and there composed the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, hitherto ascribed respectively to obscure contemporary composers named Urio and Erba, of which he made extensive use in later works. Mr. Robinson's singularly cogent and luminous reasoning may be said to have established the Handelian authorship of both works, though no actual evidence is forthcoming as to the date and place of their composition. It is quite possible that Handel left Rome with Steffani at the end of April 1709, and travelled with him via Florence to Venice, where he arrived on May 13.² Steffani stayed for a few days at the palace of the Elector of Hanover, and then returned to Düsseldorf. Handel may have stayed in Venice with Steffani, which would give some colour to Mainwaring's story of their having met there, and then gone to stay with his friends near Como.

Another theory would picture Handel as lingering in Rome until the early autumn and then making his way to Florence, in order to say good-bye to his friends at the Medici court. If this was so, he found them in sad trouble. The *Gran Principe* had been for some time in failing health, and on September 1, 1709, he was struck down by a series of epileptic fits. For many days his life was in serious danger. Prayers were offered up in all the Florentine churches, and the anxiety in the city was great.³ By the end of the month, however,

¹ Woker, *Agostino Steffani* (*Vereinsschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1888).

² Woker, *Aus den Papieren Agostino Staffanis*.

³ Portinari, *Diarie* (Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence).

Ferdinand seemed to be well on the way to recovery, and a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving, 'with solemn and exquisite music and rich symphonies, composed by the first musicians of Florence and other foreign musicians,'¹ was sung in the Church of the Annunziata. If Handel stayed in Florence on his way to Venice, it is quite possible that he was one of the foreign musicians who helped to compose the *Te Deum*, especially as his old patron, Gian Gastone, was in Florence at the time and was actually present at the thanksgiving service.

In due course Handel arrived at Venice, and the credentials that he brought from Cardinal Grimani made the production of *Agrippina* at the theatre of San Giovanni Grisostomo an easy matter. There is an apparent discrepancy between the various records of its production. The libretto—the title-page of which is reproduced by Ademollo in his *G. F. Hændel in Italia*—is dated 1709, and Allacci, followed by Wiel, gives 1709 as the date of its production. Bonlini, on the other hand, followed by Ademollo, says 1710. The ambiguity arises from the fact that *Agrippina* was produced in what was called the Carnival season of 1710, and in Bonlini's catalogue all the operas produced during that season are grouped together under the date 1710. But the Carnival season actually begins on December 26, and as *Agrippina* comes first in Bonlini's list, we may take it for granted that it was chosen to open the season. It may therefore be accepted as a settled fact that *Agrippina* was produced on December 26, 1709. The cast is printed in the libretto, and as it has never yet appeared in an English biography of Handel, I will reproduce it here:—

Claudio	Antonio Francesco Carli.
Agrippina	Margherita Durastanti.
Nerone	Valeriano Pellegrini.
Poppea	Diamante Maria Scarabelli.
Ottone	Francesca Vanini Boschi.
Pallante	Giuseppe Maria Boschi.
Narciso	Giuliano Albertini.
Lesbo	D. Nicola Pasini.

Boschi, who had a magnificent bass voice of extraordinary compass, had already sung in Handel's *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* at Naples, and subsequently appeared under Handel's banner in London, as did also Durastanti. Pellegrini, who was usually called Valeriano, was a favourite singer of the Elector Palatine, at whose court at Düsseldorf he was generally to be found. He seems to have scored a special success in *Agrippina*. Giorgio Stella, another of the Elector's singers, writing from Venice to his patron on January 10, 1710, says: 'I meant

¹ Settimanni, *Diario* (Archivio di Stato, Florence).

to send you the songs from the opera that is being played at the San Cassiano theatre, but I could not get hold of them. I am not sending the songs of the San Giovanni Grisostomo opera, as I suppose that Valeriano will send them. He is much applauded there, for he is a great artist.¹ *Agrippina* was received with the utmost enthusiasm, and ran uninterruptedly for twenty-seven nights, a thing rare in the annals of Venetian opera, if not unprecedented. Handel soon had all Venice at his feet. His friend the Duke of Manchester was no longer there, and Prince Ernest Augustus had also gone home, but there were plenty of other distinguished foreigners amusing themselves in the city of the lagoons. Among them was one of the leading lights of the Hanoverian Court, Baron Kielmansegg, the Elector's Master of the Horse, and the husband of the lady who enjoyed the reputation of being her sovereign's favourite mistress. Kielmansegg had probably heard about Handel from Prince Ernest Augustus and Steffani. At any rate he made friends with him, and probably took him in his suite to Hanover when he left Italy in the spring. In Hanover Handel was warmly welcomed by Steffani, and he duly received the appointment of Kapellmeister on June 16, 1710.² To Steffani's kind and friendly behaviour he afterwards paid a warm tribute in a conversation with Sir John Hawkins, with which I may appropriately conclude: 'When I first arrived at Hanover I was a young man. I understood somewhat of music, and—putting forth his broad hands and extending his fingers—could play pretty well upon the organ. He received me with great kindness, and took an early opportunity to introduce me to the Princess Sophia and the Elector's son, giving them to understand that I was what he was pleased to call a virtuoso in music. He obliged me with instructions for my conduct and behaviour during my residence in Hanover, and being called from the city to attend to matters of a public concern, he left me in possession of that favour and patronage which himself had enjoyed for a series of years.'

R. A. STREATFEILD.

¹ Einstein, *Italienische Musiker am Hofe der Neuburger-Wittelsbacher* (Sammelände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Jahrg. ix, p. 407).

² Fischer, *Opern und Concerte im Hoftheater zu Hannover.*

A LETTER TO A MUSICIAN ON ENGLISH PROSODY

My dear —, when lately you asked me to recommend you a book on English Prosody, and I said that I was unable to do so, I had some scruples of conscience, because, as a matter of fact, I have never myself read any of the treatises, though I have looked into many of them, and from that, and from the report of students and reviewers, I think that I know pretty well the nature of their contents; so that your further inquiries come to me as a challenge to explain myself, which if I could not do I should be in a contemptible position. I embrace the opportunity the more willingly because you are a musician. If my notions are reasonable you will understand them; if you do not, you may conclude that they are not worthy of your attention.

PRELIMINARY

It is impossible, however one might desire it, to set out with satisfactory definitions of *Prosody* and *Poetic rhythm*, for the latter term especially is difficult to fix: and it will be best to examine perfected poetry and see what it is that we have to deal with.

If we take verses by Virgil, Dante or Milton, who were all of them Poetic ^{rhythm.} artistic geniuses, we find that their elaborate rhythms are a compound, arrived at by a conflict between two separate factors, which we may call the *Speech-rhythm* and the *Metric rhythm*. Take an example from Virgil,

Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.

I have no doubt that I enjoy this rhythm as Virgil intended it, for I read it in measured longs and shorts, and I find that the speech-accent on *antiquos*, contradicting the metrical ictus, enhances the beauty, and joins on smoothly to the long level *subterlabentia*, with its two little gliding syllables at the end in quiet motion against the solid *muros*. There is no room for difference of opinion; and the same phenomenon meets us everywhere. The poetic rhythm derives its beauty from the conflict between a (prosodial) metre, which

makes us more or less expect a certain regular rhythm of accent corresponding with the typical metric structure, and, on the other hand, a speech-rhythm which gives it all manner of variety by overriding it. In the above instance, though the essence of the metre is the sequence of long and short syllables, we yet regard the hexameter as a typically falling rhythm, i. e. with its main accents on the initial syllables of the constituent feet, which would give *antiquos*; and the beauty of Virgil's line contains the contradiction or dislocation of those accents.

Moreover, if we were unacquainted with hexameter verse (i. e. with the prosody), the line quoted would seem a line of prose, in prose-rhythm, and it would be in itself no less beautiful than it is. Only the knowledge that it is an hexameter adds to our satisfaction; the definition of the value of the syllables and the recognition of the verse-form give us pleasure, and especially because it is one of many varieties of a most skilfully invented form, which by their accumulation make pleasing poems. But this reflection may also convince us of the subjective nature of the quality of poetic rhythm, and consequently how it must defy exhaustive analysis, although it may allow of the analytical separation of its components.

And since we can imagine that the hexameter had never been invented, and yet that these words might still have been written, it will follow that poetic rhythm may be regarded as common speech-rhythm subjected to certain definitions and limitations: and the laws of these will no doubt be the prosody.

Let us for the moment suppose that there is no such thing as prosody, and inquire into the elements or factors of speech-rhythm.

THE VOCAL FACTORS OF SPEECH-RHYTHM

Now if you read English verse aloud, your main endeavour is to express the rhythm. You know what you mean by this, and you are aware whether you are successful or not.

Three factors. Supposing that you express the rhythm as you wish, you will find that you have freely used the only three means which are at your disposal. First, you will have distinguished some syllables by their comparative length and brevity. Secondly, you will have varied the pitch of your voice. Thirdly, you will have varied the strength of your voice, enforcing some syllables with greater loudness; and you will have freely combined these different components of rhythm. There is nothing else that you can do towards expressing the rhythm, except that (and especially in elaborately written verse) you will have relied a great deal on pauses or silences of suitable duration. These

(Pauses.)

pauses are essential to good reading, but they are not essential to our present consideration. First there are the *metric* pauses, which merely isolate balancing sections of verse-rhythm. Then there are the *grammatical* pauses or stops: these are interruptions of the metric rhythm, which are either condoned for the sake of the sense, or are observed to indicate and separate the ever-varying sections of the speech-rhythm (being thus to speech-rhythm what metric pauses are to the metre). Now the grammatical pause is a physical necessity, as the breath-place, and it must of course be a true 'rest' of actual time-value. But its time-value in poetry is indefinite, and it has therefore no rhythmical significance except as the sign of the break in the grammar. If these pauses be all excluded, you will find so few true *intra-rhythymical* pauses left, i. e. time-rests within a section of rhythm and essential to its expression, that we may omit to consider them as belonging to a more advanced treatment of the subject, and confine ourselves to the active varieties of vocal effect, namely, QUANTITY, PITCH, and LOUDNESS.¹

Of these three you will find on examination that the first, that is All-sufficient difference of quantity, is the only one which will give rhythm without ^{science of} quantity. the aid of either of the others. It is well to make this quite clear, and musical examples are the simplest.

Let us, to begin with, take an example where all three are present, the slow movement of an orchestral symphony. When this is performed by the orchestra, we hear different time-value of the notes, their differences of pitch, and actual enforcements of loudness, and all of these seem to be essential to the rhythmic effect.

But now if we take the same *Andante* and perform it on the choir-organ, the conditions of which preclude the differences of loud and soft, we find that, though the effect is generally poorer than in the orchestral performance, yet the rhythm is unaffected. We have here

¹ Loudness. I use this word and not 'stress', because, though some authorities still maintain that stress is only loudness, I need the word stress to indicate a condition which is much more elaborate, and induced very variably. (a) I should admit that loudness may give stress, but (b) I hold that it is more frequently and more effectually given by tonal accent, in which case it is (for our purpose) included under Pitch. (c) It is also sometimes determined by Quantity, and (d) sometimes by Position; as in the last place of our deasyllabic verses. When therefore I confine my third voice-effect to loudness, and pretend that my classification is exhaustive, I leave a small flaw in my demonstration: but you will perceive that it does not materially invalidate the argument, because position is the only condition which escapes; and that plainly belongs to a much more elaborate scale of treatment, wherein metres would be analysed and the effects of the combinations of the different factors would also be shown. For instance, a concurrence of length, high pitch, and position gives an overwhelming stress, and all possible combinations among all four of them may occur, and the first three of them are all very variable in degree. It is no wonder that it is difficult to define stress.

then an example of an elaborate rhythm expressed without variations of loudness.

of loud-
ness and
pitch.

Now to exclude Pitch. The commonest example that I can think of is the monotoning of the prayers in a cathedral service. Here varieties of pitch are of course absent, but you may generally detect the quantities to be complicated by some variation of loudness. In proportion, however, as monotoning is well done the sound is level in force. Perhaps you will ask, where is the rhythm? I was once induced to establish a choir in a country church, and among my first tasks I had to train the boys in choral monotone. They were naturally without any notion of educated speech-rhythms. But there is no difficulty in teaching boys anything that you yourself understand; they can imitate anything, and love to do it. I had therefore only to offer the correct rhythms to their ears, and they adopted them at once. When we had got the vowels and consonants right, both to spare my own voice, and also because I preferred a model which could not suggest stress to them, I made the organ set the rhythms, and pulling out the great diapason I beat on it the syllables of the Lord's Prayer for the boys to pick up. This was of course nothing but boo, boo, boo, only the boos were of different durations: yet the rhythm was so distinct, it was so evident that the organ was saying the Lord's Prayer, that I was at first rather shocked, and it seemed that I was doing something profane; for it was comic to the boys as well as to me; but the absurdity soon wore off. Now here was rhythm without loudness or pitch.

If you should still ask what I mean by saying that this was rhythm, you need to extend your notion of speech-rhythm to include every recognizable motion of speech in time. The Lord's Prayer is not in poetic rhythm, but if it had been, then the organ would have expressed it even more plainly, and there is no line to be drawn in speech-rhythms between those that are proper verse-rhythms, and those that are only possible in prose: there is really no good speech-rhythm which might not be transferred from prose into a poetry that had a sufficiently elaborated prosody, with this proviso only, that it must be a short member; for good prose constructs and combines its rhythms so that in their extension they do not make or suggest verse.

Since we see then that rhythm may be expressed by quantity alone, we have to examine whether either *pitch* or *loudness* are sufficient in themselves to give rhythm.

Pitch
alone.

Let us first take Pitch. A common hymn-tune of equal notes would seem to be the most promising example, and to fulfil the conditions, but it does not. It is a melody, and that implies rhythm,

but in so far as it has rhythm it is dependent on its *metre*, which exists only by virtue of certain pauses or rests which its subdivision into short sections determines. Now, given these sections, they discover initial and other stresses which are enforced by the words or the metre or the harmony, or by all three, and without these aids and interpretations the structure is arhythmic, and it can be read in many different ways.

It remains only to consider Loudness, which may here be described ^{Loudness} as accent without pitch or quantity. Now if we take a succession ^{alone.} of perfectly equal notes, differing only in that some of them (any that you may choose) are louder than the others, the experiment will suggest only the simple skeletons of the most monotonous rhythms, and if one of these declare itself, such as a succession of threes or fours, you will probably be unconsciously led to reinforce it with some device of quantitative phrasing. To compare such a result with the experiment of beating the Lord's Prayer on the organ is to compare something too elementary to be of any value with something that is too complex and extensive to define.

THE OFFICE OF PROSODY

My examples will have sufficiently illustrated my meaning; your conviction will depend on your own consideration of the matter. On the supposition that you agree we can make an important step, and say that, looking at the question from the point of view of speech-rhythm, it would seem that it is the addition of Prosody to speech-rhythm which determines it to be poetic rhythm or verse. What ^{Prosody} then exactly is Prosody? Our English word is not carried over from the Greek word, with its uncertain and various meaning, but it must have come with the French word through the scholastic Latin; and like the French term it primarily denotes the rules for the treatment of syllables in verse, whether they are to be considered as long or ^{of syllables,} short, accented or unaccented, elidable or not, &c., &c. The syllables, which are the *units* of rhythmic speech, are by nature of so indefinite a quality and capable of such different vocal expression, that apart from the desire which every artist must feel to have his work consistent in itself, his appeal to an audience would convince him that there is no chance of his elaborate rhythms being rightly interpreted unless his treatment of syllables is understood. Rules must therefore arise and be agreed upon for the treatment of syllables, and this is the first indispensable office of Prosody. Then, the syllables being ^{of feet,} fixed, the commonest combinations (which are practically commensurate with word-units) are defined and named; and these are

of metre. called *feet*. And after this the third step of Prosody is to prescribe metres, that is to register the main systems of feet which poets have invented to make verses and stanzas. Thus the Alcaic stanza is—

$$\left. \begin{array}{c|c} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} & \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} & \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} & \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \end{array} \right\} \text{bis} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A. B. bis} \\ \text{A. C.} \\ \text{B. C.} \end{array} \right.$$

Rhythm of metres and in tabulating metres Prosody is at once involved in rhythm, for we may say generally that every metre has a typical rhythm of its own—which was presumably the motive of its invention—though it may be in some cases difficult to fix on one to the exclusion of all others; certainly (to take easy examples) we may regard the hexameter as a typically falling rhythm, and the iambic as a rising rhythm. The force of this prosodial rhythm will vary in different metres, and with different readers: but one thing stands out very prominently, namely, that in the essential scheme of the Greek metre which I have tabulated above, it is the quantities only that are prescribed and fixed, while the accents or stresses are not prescribed, so that any speech-rhythm which had a corresponding sequence of those quantities would fit the scheme¹; whereas, if the metre had been an accentual scheme, that is if the syllabic signs had been indeterminate with respect to quantity (instead of being longs and shorts), but marked with prescribed accents in certain places, then the quantities would have been free, and any speech-rhythm with a corresponding sequence of accents would have fitted the form, independently of the length or shortness of any one particular accented or unaccented syllable. There could thus be two quite distinct systems of Prosody, according as the metres were ruled by one or other of these different factors of speech-rhythm.

THREE KINDS OF PROSODY

Now the history of European verse shows us three distinct systems of Prosody, which can be named :—

1. The Quantitive system.
2. The Syllabic system.
3. The Stress system.

I will give a short account of each of these.

1. The system of the Greeks was scientifically founded on quantity, because they knew that to be the only one of the three distinctions of

¹ Not always making good verse; but the details of that are omitted as not affecting the argument: their varieties often cancel each other.

spoken syllables which will give rhythm by itself. But the speech-quantities of their syllables being as indeterminate as ours are, the Greeks devised a convention by which their syllables were separated into two classes, one of long syllables, the other of short, the long being twice the duration of the short, as a minim to a crotchet; and this artificial distinction of the syllables was the foundation of their Prosody. The convention was absolutely enforced, even in their prose oratory, and their verse cannot be understood unless it is strictly observed. For the result which they obtained was this: the quantities gave such marked and definite rhythms, that these held their own in spite of the various speech-accents which overlaid them. The Latins copying their method arrived at a like result.

2. The syllabic system, which has prevailed in various developments throughout Europe from the decay of the Greek system up to the present time, had no more scientific basis than the imitation of the Latin poetry by writers who did not understand it. But I believe that in such matters the final cause is the efficient cause, and that it was therefore the possibility of the results which we have witnessed that led them on their pathless experiments. Criticism discovers two weaknesses in the system; one, the absence of any definite prosodial principle, the other, which follows from the first, the tendency for different and incompatible principles to assert themselves, indiscriminately overriding each other's authority, until the house is so divided against itself that it falls into anarchy.

I will shortly illustrate one or two points. First, my statement that this syllabic system arose from writing quantitative verse without the quantities. The octosyllabic church-hymns give a good example, and for all that I know they may have actually been the first step. The earliest of these hymns were composed in correct iambic metre, e.g. (fourth cent.):—

Splendor paternae gloriae
De luce lucem proferens
Lux lucis et fons luminis
Dies dierum illuminans.

Compare with this what writers wrote who did not know the classic rules, e.g. :—

1. Ad coenam Agni prouidi Et stolis albis candidi Post transitum maris rubri Christo canamus principi.	2. Ne grauis somnus irruat Nec hostis nos surripiat Nec caro illi consentiens Nos tibi reos statuat.
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Such stanzas virtually contain the whole of European syllabic

Prosody¹; though as a matter of fact the rule of elision, which these writers often neglected, was preserved. Since these hymns were intended to be sung to tunes that were generally of equal notes with tendency to alternate accent, the quantities did not signify, and there was a *tendency to alternate stress*, which came to be the norm and bane of syllabic verse²; and this leads to another somewhat curious observation, namely that these writers of non-quantitative iambics were withheld from the natural tendency to write merely in alternate stress to suit their tunes (see ex. 2 above) by their familiarity with the free rhythms of the older well-loved hymns³; and since those broken rhythms had been originally occasioned by the unalterable overruling features of the language, they were almost as difficult to avoid as they were easy to imitate. It is pretty certain that the frequency of inversion of the first foot in all English syllabic (iambic) verse is an unbroken tradition from the Latin; the convenience of allowing a disyllable at the beginning of the line being conveyed and encouraged by precedent.

The 'prosody' of European syllabic verse may be roughly set out as follows:—

- (1) There must be so many syllables in the verse.
- (2) Any extra syllables must be accounted for by elision.
- (3) Any syllable may be long or short.
- (4) There is a tendency to alternate stress.

This is honestly the wretched skeleton⁴ (indeed in Milton's perfected 'iambics' we may add that any syllable may be accented or unaccented), and no amount of development can rebuild its hybrid construction. For our present consideration of the rules of Prosody the bare skeleton will serve; but to the description we may add that the history of its development shows that it determined its metrical forms mainly by rime, and that 'stress', there being nothing of equal force to oppose it, gradually predominated, invading and practically

¹ My necessary brevity confines me to consideration of the disyllabic metres: but this is justified by their overruling historical importance, and their overwhelming preponderance in European syllabic verse.

² In the absence of a philosophic grammar of rhythm one can only offer opinions as guesses, but it would seem to me that alternate stress can only be of rhythmic value in poetry as the firmest basis for the freest elaboration. One's memory hardly reaches back to the time when it could satisfy one. The force of it always remains as one of the most powerful resources of effect, but its unrelieved monotony is to an educated ear more likely to madden than to lull. [See Remark, no. XII, pp. 28-9.]

³ And 'Turcos oppressi et barbaras gentes excussi' is in this category.

⁴ Try the experiment of supplying lacunae. Suppose four syllables to be missing from the middles respectively of a Greek iambic, a Latin hexameter, and an English blank verse. In the two former cases the prosodical limitations exclude many desirable words, in the syllabic scheme almost any words will fit.

ruling syllabic verse long before it was openly recognized, or any hint was given of formulating its principles, or constructing a Prosody of it, the principles of which are irreconcilable with the syllabic system, and which I will now describe.

3. *Stress-prosody.* In this system the natural speech-rhythms come to the front, and are the determining factor of the verse, ^{The stress system.} overruling the syllabic determination. These speech-rhythms were always present; they constituted in the classical verse the main variety of effects within the different metres, but they were *counterpointed*, so to speak, on a quantitative rhythm, that is, on a framework of strict (unaccented) time, which not only imposed necessary limitations but, certainly in Latin, to a great extent, determined their forms. In the syllabic Prosody, in which the prosodial rules were so much relaxed, these speech-rhythms came in the best writers to be of first importance, and in Milton (for example) we can see that they are only withheld from absolute authority and liberty by the observance of a conservative syllabic fiction, which is so featureless that it needs to be explained why Milton should have thought it of any value. For all Milton's free speech-rhythms, which are the characteristic beauty of his verse, and by their boldness make his originality as a rhythmist, are confined by a strict syllabic limitation, viz. that the syllables which compose them must still keep the first two rules of the syllabic Prosody, and be resolvable into so many 'iamps'. But these so-called iamps are themselves now degraded to nothing, for the disyllabic unit which still preserves that old name has no definition: it has lost its quantities, nor are its lost quantities always indicated by accent or stress; its disyllabic quality, too, is resolvable by the old law of Latin elision (which Milton extended to liquids) into trisyllabic forms, so that *either* or *both* of the syllables of the fictive iamb may be long or short, accented or unaccented, while the whole may be a trisyllabic foot of many varieties. Yet in his carefully composed later poetry Milton kept strictly to the syllabic rules, and never allowed himself any rhythm which could not be prosodially interpreted in this fictitious fashion—'counted on the fingers'. Now the stress-system merely casts off this fiction of Milton's, and it dismisses it the more readily because no one except one or two scholars have ever understood it.

Stress being admitted to rule, it follows that the stress-rhythms are, up to a certain point, identical with modern music, wherein every bar is an accent followed by its complement: and there is no rhythm of modern music which is not also a possible and proper rhythm of stress-prosody; and the recognition of pure stress-prosody was no doubt mainly influenced by the successes of contemporary music. But

poetry is not bound, as our music is, to have equal bars; so that its rhythmic field is indefinitely wider. To understand the speech-rhythms of poetry a musician must realize from what an enormous field of rhythm he is excluded by his rule of equal bars. Musicians, however, do not nowadays need to be informed of this; for, having executed all the motions that their chains allowed them, they are already beginning to regret their bonds, and tax their ingenuity to escape from them, as the frequent syncopations and change of time-signature in their music testify.

What measures this new stress-prosody will set to govern its rhythms one cannot foresee, and there is as yet no recognized Prosody of stress-verse. I have experimented with it, and tried to determine what those rules must be; and there is little doubt that the perfected Prosody will pay great attention to the quantitative value of syllables, though not on the classical system.¹ Here, however, I wish only to differentiate that system from the others, and what I have said shows this conclusion :

SUMMARY

1. In the Greek system the Prosody is quantitative.
2. In the syllabic system it is 'syllabic' (as described).
3. In the stress-system it is accentual.

And while in the classical Prosody the quantities were the main prosodial basis, first ordered and laid down, with the speech-rhythms counterpointed upon it, in the stress-system, on the other hand, it is the speech-rhythms which are the basis, and their quantitative syllables will be so ordered as to enforce them, and their varieties will be practically similar to the varieties of modern music with its minims, crotchets, quavers, dotted notes, &c., &c.

These things being so, it would seem to me indispensable that any treatise on Prosody should recognize these three different systems :

¹ Indifference to quantity is the strangest phenomenon in English verse. Our language contains syllables as long as syllables can be, and others as short as syllables can be, and yet the two extremes are very commonly treated as rhythmically equivalent. A sort of rhythmical patter of stress is set up, and MISPRONUNCIATION IS RELIED ON to overcome any 'false quantities'. This was taught me at school, e. g. the Greek word γλεῖον was pronounced glēēōn, as a spondee of the heaviest class accented strongly on the first syllable, and then had to be read in such a verse as this (corresponding to the *ta* of the line quoted from Virgil)—

τοῦτο δέντρον εἶναι ένος, δέ τι γλεῖον ένος.

It is really difficult to get an average classical scholar, who has been educated as I was, to see that there is any absurdity here. On the other hand, an average educated lady will not believe that the scholars can be guilty of an absurdity so manifest. (See Remark V, pp. 26-7.)

indeed, a Prosody which does not recognize them is to me unintelligible. Before my few final remarks you will expect me to say something about rime.

RIME

Rules for rime are strictly a part of Prosody within my definition of the term, but they call for no discussion here. It is, however, well to understand the relation in which rime scientifically stands to poetry. The main thing in poetry must be the ideas which the words carry ; its most important factors are the aesthetic and intellectual form, and the quality of the diction in which the ideas are conveyed : with none of these things are we concerned, but supposing these at their best, with the rhythms suitable and the Prosody also sufficient, the poet will still find that his material is often insurmountably refractory in the matter of syllabic euphony. His wish is that the sounds should always be beautiful or agreeable, and this is impossible, for language was not invented with this aim, and it almost always falls short of what is desirable (the history of English accidence is a disgrace to the aesthetic faculties of the nation) ; there is, in fact, a constant irremediable deficiency in this merely phonetic beauty, and it is reasonable that extraneous artifices should have been devised to supply it. Alliteration, assonance, and rime are all contrivances of this sort ; they are in their nature beautifications of the language independent of the ideas, and of the rhythm, and of the diction, and intended to supply by their artificial correspondences the want of natural beauty in the garment of language. But it must not be overlooked that they were also well nigh necessitated by the unscientific character of the syllabic Prosody, which having in ignorance discarded the scientific Prosody of the poetry which it imitated, had to devise new rules for itself experimentally as it grew up, and eagerly seized on such external artifices of speech to dress out its wavering forms, just as an architecture which has lost its living traditions of fine form will seek to face itself with superficial ornament. Alliteration in early English poetry was the main feature of structure. It has perished as a metrical scheme, but it is freely used in all poetry, and it is so natural to language that it finds a place in the commonest as well as in the most elaborated speech of all kinds. Rime has had a long reign, and still flourishes, and it is in English one of the chief metrical factors. Like a low-born upstart it has even sought to establish its kinship with the ancient family of rhythm by incorporating the aristocratic *h* and *y* into its name. As it distinguishes verses that have no other distinction, its disposition determines stanza-forms, &c. ; and for this reason it usurps a prominence for which it is ill-suited.

Dryden, indeed, and others have ridiculed the notion of 'unrhymed' verse in English; and their opinion is a fair consequence on the poverty of their Prosody. Milton's later poems were an attempt so to strengthen English Prosody as to render it independent of rime. In my opinion he saw exactly what was needed, and it would have been strange if he had not seen. Rime is so trammelling, its effects so cloying, and its worthiest resources are so quickly exhausted,¹ and often of such conspicuous artificiality, that a Prosody which was good enough to do without it would immediately discard it, in spite of its almost unparalleled achievements.

REMARKS

I. If these three systems are to be treated of together as one system, it is necessary to find a common-measure of them, and the science of rhythm is at present inadequate to the task.

II. The confusing of them is so universal as to have acquired a sort of authority; and the confusion has discredited the whole subject.

III. The main source of error is the wrong way in which classical scholars read classical verse, and the teaching of their misinterpretation in our schools. Classical poetry being on a quantitative system of longs and shorts, it must be read, not as we read our syllabic verse, but in longs and shorts as it was composed, and if it is not so read it is misunderstood. If it is read in longs and shorts, then the quantitative rhythms appear, and the speech-accents give no difficulty.

IV. To give one all-convincing example of what classical scholars actually do, by treating the different systems as equivalent, the hexameter will serve. This, as Professor Mackail once complained to me, is read by them as AN ACCENTUAL RHYTHM IN THE TRIPLE TIME OF MODERN MUSIC, that is, made up of tribrachs and trochees all stressed on the first syllable. It is of course patent that if the hexameter were in a time of modern music it would be a duple and not a triple time; but it has absolutely nothing in common with the stress-rhythms of modern music.

V. A difficulty is naturally felt in the unlikeness that such a consensus of learned opinion, from the confident multiscience of Goethe to the equally confident fastidiousness of Matthew Arnold, should be open to such a monstrous reproach of elementary incompetence. But the explanation is not difficult, if the whole blunder is perceived as the misrepresentation of quantity by accent. English people all

¹ If you observe the rimes to Knight in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, you will find the poem considerably damaged thereby.

think that an accent (or stress) makes a syllable long, whereas many of our words are accented as independently of their quantities as the Greek words were, e.g. *mágiſtrate*, *prolífic*: and all our pyrrhic words (= $\sim\sim$) like *habit*, *very*, *silly*, *solid*, *scurry*, are accented, like the Latin, on the first syllable, and some very strongly, and this of course absolutely explodes the vulgar notion that accented syllables can be reckoned always as long: besides, you may see that this *accent in some cases actually shortens the syllable* further, as in the word *bátte*; for in the older form *battail*, in which the first syllable had not this decided accent, you will not pronounce it so short, but immediately that you strengthen its accent, as in our *battle* (= *bát'l*) the *t* closes up the *a* much more quickly and perceptibly shortens it.

VI. To call Milton's blank verse 'iambic', as he himself called it, is reasonable enough, and in the absence of a modern terminology¹ it serves well to distinguish it from the hexametric epic verse, and it describes its disyllabic basis, and suggests its rising rhythm (which may rightly be considered as the typical iambic stress, such as we see in Catullus's carefully accentual verse, 'Phaséllus filie quém uidétiſ hóspites', &c.): moreover, it is historically, as I pointed out, the direct descendant of and substitute for the classic iambic. But a scientific treatise on Prosody cannot afford to use analogical terms.

VII. I should confidently guess that the five-foot metres of our blank verse, &c., came from the Sapphic line. This was always familiar and was very early reduced by musical settings to an accentual scheme, which still obtains in common settings of decasyllabic 'iambic' lines in church hymns, and occurs frequently in all our blank verse. I open Wordsworth at hazard in 'The Borderers' and find—

Here at my breast and ask me where I bought it.
I love her though I dare not call her daughter.
Oh the poor tenant of that ragged homestead.
Justice had been most cruelly defrauded.

These lines would all be quite comfortable in the notorious 'Needy Knife-grinder', which was a skit on the accentual Sapphic, though it is often taken seriously.

VIII. I quote this from *The Times*, April 10, 1903. 'An English scholar, confronted with the following lines—

Δαίμων στυγὺς ἐπλανάτο νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμῶν κοιμαμένων
πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἔχλεύαζε κάρριπτε σπόρους θανάτου

will probably need to look at them twice before he realizes that they are hexameters. Yet they scan on exactly the same principle as . . .

¹ The absence of terminology is evidence of the unscientific character of the system, as I have described it.

Goethe's hexameters. They are not more barbarous, not a whit; and scholars read Virgil much as these lines were written; there is little difference.

IX. The Professor of Latin at one of our Universities once told me that of all his pupils the Eton men had by far the best sense of quantity. **THEY HAVE NO SENSE OF QUANTITY AT ALL.** **THEY HAVE ONLY A KNOWLEDGE OF QUANTITIES**, hammered into them by long experience in the scanning of verses made by means of a 'gradus'. If they pronounced the words properly they would not need a gradus.

X. I was once trying to persuade the responsible head of one of our largest schools to reform the teaching of Greek; and I reasoned thus with him: 'Would you not say that TEUKEE ($\tau\acute{e}u\chi\eta$) was a good word for the end of an iambic verse?'

'Certainly,' he said, 'a very good one.'

'And yet you would say, no doubt, that PSEUKEE ($\psi\acute{e}u\chi\eta$) was a bad one.'

'A horrible false quantity,' he said.

'I was well aware that you would be shocked at the notion,' I replied, 'and you will no doubt agree with me that the reason why one is good and the other is bad is that the vowel in the first syllable is of different speech-value in these two words.'

'By all means,' he said, 'that is just the point. In TEUKEE it is short, and in PSEUKEE it is long.'

'But how is it then, if, as you say, the essential difference between these two words is in the speech-value of their vowels, that you pronounce them alike? If they are pronounced alike is not one as good as the other? and has not the boy who considers them equivalent got hold of the essence of the matter, understanding more or less what he is about when he is writing his verses; while the boy who observes the distinction is one who does not think for himself, nor trust his ear, but mechanically adopts the meaningless rules that are forced upon him? And if he is not by nature dull and timid, which he shows some symptoms of being, is not this sort of teaching the very means to cow him and muddle his brains?'

He received my demonstration courteously as an ingenious quibble.

XI. The use of the Greek quantitative terminology in explaining syllabic or stress-verse implies that the terms are equivalent in the different systems, or requires that they should be plainly differentiated. It is demonstrable that they are not equivalent, and if they are differentiated the absurdity of applying the Greek notions to English poetry is patent. Try the inverse experiment of writing Greek verse with the 'syllabic' definition of the classic feet.

XII. The syllabic system attained its results by learned elaboration;

but the absence of strict prosodial rules, and the singsong of alternate stress led on the other hand to the most puerile degradation. A clergyman once sympathetically confessed to me that he was himself by nature something of a poet, and that the conviction had on one occasion been strangely forced upon him. For after preaching his first sermon his rector said to him in the vestry, 'Do you know that your sermon was all in blank verse?' 'And, by George, it was' (he said with some pride); 'I looked at it and it *was*!' This man had had the usual long classical training, and was a fellow of his college.—Ritum, ritum, ritum, *ad infinitum*, that was his verse, and that was his prose.

XIII. To judge from one or two examples I should be tempted to say that the qualifications of an English prosodist might be (1) the educated misunderstanding of Greek and Latin verse; (2) a smattering of modern musical rhythm. His method (1) to satisfy himself in the choice of a few barrel-organ rhythms, and (2) to exert his ingenuity in finding them everywhere. The result is not likely to be recommendable to a student.

ROBERT BRIDGES.

EARLY ELIZABETHAN STAGE MUSIC

In the early part of Elizabeth's reign, it was customary for the Masters of the Children of some of the principal Choirs in and about London to prepare plays every year, which were performed at Court before the Queen, generally about Christmas and Twelfth-night, or at Shrove-tide. In the *Acts of the Privy Council* are frequent records of payments in reward for these Court performances. Besides the plays acted by the Children of the Chapel Royal under William Hunnis (who succeeded Richard Edwards in 1566); and by the Children of St. Paul's under Sebastian Westcote (named between 1568 and 1574) and Thomas Giles (named in 1587); we find here records of performances given by the Windsor Children under Richard Farrant, who died in 1580; and by the Westminster Children under John Tailour (1566-7). The names of the plays which were presented are not given in the *Acts of the Privy Council*, but the names of some are preserved in Cunningham's *Accounts of the Revels at Court*, 1842; or in the *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, edited by Albert Feuillerat, 1908, which has now superseded Cunningham's publication.

The Children of St. Paul's indeed (until they were inhibited about 1590) and the Children of the Chapel Royal, were duly licensed as regular companies of actors. The latter, after 1596, established themselves at the Blackfriars Theatre and continued to act there for some years (Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare*, 1898, pp. 34-8). Both these companies attained a great importance compared with the other similar bodies, and an excellence, due no doubt in the first instance to the fact that the Masters of these Children were granted power to impress singing boys from other choirs; a power¹ of which they doubtless availed themselves in order to obtain promising actors and not only boys with good voices.

¹ As time went on, this practice of kidnapping boys, in order to make actors of them, naturally gave great offence to parents; and in 1626, in the 'Commission to take up singing boys' granted to Nathaniel Gyles, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, it is expressly stated that the boys are not to be employed as 'Comedians or stage players'; 'for that it is not fitt or descent that such as should sing the praises of God Almighty should be trained or employed in such lascivious and prophan exercises' (Rimbault, *Chorus Book of the Chapel Royal*, 1872, p. ix).

There is evidence that the Children at the provincial Cathedrals were also employed in producing plays. John Hilton, for instance, received a reward in 1598, from the Chapter of Lincoln for helping to prepare two Comedies to be acted by the Choristers (Canon Maddison in *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, &c.*, 1885); and this is not likely to be a solitary instance. But the provincial performances must have been chiefly of local interest, and cannot often have reached the point of excellence which the London choirs attained, spurred on as they were by the hope of performing before Royalty.

Some of the plays written for the Choir-boys have survived. They are, as a rule, astonishingly and laughably feeble productions. It is true that in the hands of John Lyly, who wrote his plays for the Children of St. Paul's, they acquired a certain literary importance; but for the most part they would seem to have seldom soared above the level of Richard Edwards's work, and it cannot be doubted that Shakespeare, in his tragical comedy of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, was holding up to ridicule not merely Edwards's play of *Damon and Pithias* (written for the Children of the Queen's Chapel and entered in the Stationers' Registers in 1567-8) as the commentators would have us believe, but rather this whole class of plays; the plays, that is to say, which were prepared for performance at Court by the Children of the different choirs. (See on this subject *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., V, pp. 341 and 401). Thus the burlesque play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* may be regarded as a preliminary skirmish in the campaign carried on by the men actors against the boy actors, to which Shakespeare alluded later on in *Hamlet*.

The primary duty of the Choir-boys was of course to sing; and it was natural that their Masters should wish to give them opportunities of displaying their skill in music. Thus it comes about that plays of this kind are rather freely interspersed with songs; indeed, at critical moments in the conduct of the story, it was the habit of the hero or heroine to burst into song, especially ('to make it the more gracious' in Bottom's phrase) when one or other of them met his or her death.

Now, though writers on dramatic history do not say anything about them, there are in existence, as a matter of fact, some few of these songs,—'passions', and invocations to death and the Fates, of the kind which Shakespeare travesties in the death-songs of Pyramus and Thisbe,—which are unquestionably extracts from these Choir-boys' plays. The list is worth giving, though it must not be regarded as complete; it will probably be possible to extend it considerably as collections of MS. music become more fully catalogued.

(1) In the Christ Church Library, Oxford, are two songs, found

in a set of MS. part-books, which bear the date 1581. The first, there attributed to Farrant, is a Lament of Panthea for the death of her husband Abradad (i.e. Abradates). It begins 'Alas ye salt sea Gods,' and is evidently from a play in which Panthea and Abradad are the principal characters. The same composition is found without words in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 17786-91), where it is assigned to Robert Parsons. The Christ Church MS., however, is the earlier and better MS., and the ascription to Farrant may for the present be accepted.

(2) In the same Christ Church MS. is another song beginning 'Come tread the paths of pensive pangs,' which is a lament for Guichardo, evidently taken from a play about Tancred and Gismonda. This is anonymous, but it closely resembles the other song in style, and may perhaps be assigned conjecturally to Farrant. The words of both these songs are printed in *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., V, 341.

(3) Another song by Farrant, from a play in which a character named Altages is the hero, is in B.M. Add. MSS. 17786-91. The words are placed in the mouth of a slandered heroine. It may be thought that the poem is not very lofty verse, but it is really rather a favourable example of what musicians were required to set on these occasions.

O Joue from stately throne
 Cast downe thine heavenly eye,
 And search the secrets of my hart
 Accused wrongfully.
 Aye mee, if you in heaven
 Regard the faithfull wight,
 Defend O God my righteous cause
 And bringe the truth to light.
 [Alas, alas.] Alas to just request
 You gratioues graunt, ah yeald
 That my Altages may perceave
 How truth my hart doth shild.

(4) In the same set of MS. part-books is Robert Parsons's *Pandolpho*, which is printed below. Parsons is said to have been a native of Exeter, and was sworn Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1563. Possibly it was for the Chapel Royal that he composed *Pandolpho*. He was drowned in the Trent at Newark in Jan. 1569-70. Another copy of *Pandolpho* is in the R. Coll. of Music Library (Husk's *Sacred Harmonic Catalogue*, 1882).

(5) Lastly there is in the same Royal College MS., a song by 'Mr. Giles' (? Thomas) beginning 'You sacred Muses nine,' which is evidently from a play.

These five songs are all that have as yet been noted which are unquestionably extracts from plays. There remains to be mentioned

a group of songs, which seem to be put into the mouths of fictitious characters and may be thought to be excerpts from plays, though as no names are given, there can be no certainty on the subject. They are most of them complaints such as might appropriately be uttered by females in distress, and in consequence the older musical antiquaries, taking them to be historical documents, chose to call some of them 'A lament of Queen Anne Boleyn', though there is no authority for giving them this name. With much more probability they ought to be assigned to Lucrece and other stage heroines. Among these songs may be classed:—

(1) *Send foorth thy sighes* by Nathaniel Patricke, in B.M. Add. MSS. 17786-91: and

(2) *Prepare to die* by the same, in the same MS. The last piece is without words, and, were it not that this MS. contains *Send foorth thy sighes*, it would not be mentioned here. 'Abradad', as we have seen, is contained in this MS. without words. Patricke was Master of the Children at Worcester and is said to have died in 1594 (*Mus. Times*, Nov. 1905).

The words of *Send foorth* are given as a specimen of these songs, that the reader may form his own opinion as to their origin:—

'Send foorth thy sighes the witnesses of woe,
Pour downe thy plaints the signes of thy unrest;
Let tricklinge teares from foorth thy fountaines flow,
For these same weedes become thy callinge best.
Let sobbs, let sighes, let plaints, let teares and all
Beare witnesse just of this thy fatal falle.'

(3) *Come pale-faced Death and end my weary life*, by Robert Johnson, the elder of the name; he was a Scottish priest who left Scotland before the Reformation and seems to have settled at Windsor; in B.M. Add. MSS., 30480-4.

(4) *Defyled is my name*, by the same, in the same MSS. It is printed by Hawkins, Vol. V, Appendix, as a Complaint of Anne Boleyn.

(5) *O Death rock me asleep*, in the same MSS., where no composer's name is given. It might possibly be also by Johnson. There are other settings of these words, for which see Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 1859, and *Old English Popular Music*, edited by Prof. Wooldridge. This also has passed for a Complaint of Anne Boleyn.

(6) *Enforced by love and fear*, by Robert Parsons, printed by Burney, vol. ii, p. 596.

The last six songs, it must be repeated, are only conjecturally included in this class of compositions, and other antiquaries may not be willing to accept all of them, or any of them, as extracts from plays.

With the exception of *Defyled is my name*, which is arranged for four voices, and possibly Giles's song (No. 5 above), which has not been thoroughly examined, all these are five-part compositions for a single treble voice with accompaniments (in four independent parts as well as the voice part) for instruments, which we may assume to have been Viols. They show, as a rule, no dramatic feeling whatever, apart from a general dolefulness, such as is suitable for the occasions which the authors selected for song. The only devices which the composers seem to have known, for securing any emotional effect, were the insertion of exclamations ('ah, ah, alas'); and the repetition of names and words, as for example 'Abradad, Abradad, ah, ah, alas, poore Abradad'; or 'Guichardo, Guichardo, ah, Guichardo'; or, as here, 'Pandolpho, Pandolpho, some pitty, Pandolpho, some pitty, Pandolpho': or the constantly repeated asseverations 'now I die, now I die', or 'now I crave to die, to die, to die,' &c.; or 'Ah see I die, I die' (from the Guichardo song), where the statement 'I die' is repeated ten times. Parsons was probably the best of the writers of this kind of music, and his *Pandolpho* is not without pathetic effect.

The MS. from which *Pandolpho* is printed is not very trustworthy, and some corrections have been found necessary. All these emendations are noticed on the pages where they occur. It should be added that in the MS. a B \flat is marked in the signature throughout in the Tenor part (not in the other parts). This is probably a mistake arising from the fact that the first note in the Tenor is a flattened B. It was not usual to begin a composition in this manner with a 6th, 'an unperfect concord'; but Morley refers to 'Orlando de lassus, M. White, and others', as excellent men who have done so (*Plaine and Easie Introduction*, Annotation to p. 70).

The time signature in the MS. part-books (which are of course without bars) is that which is generally translated $\frac{6}{4}$, but for the convenience of performers $\frac{3}{2}$ has been preferred here, and the bars have been divided accordingly.

The set of part-books includes a 2nd Treble Viol part, which is identical with the voice part except that its final note is a semibreve marked with a pause, as in the other string parts. It is not clear whether this is to accompany the voice, or whether it is to be played only when there is no singer, so that the song can be performed as an instrumental piece.

PANDOLPHO

ROBERT PARSONS.

SUPERIUS.

SEXTUS.

CONTRA
TEBOR.

TEBOR.

BASSUS.

Voice.

Poure

downe, poure downe your eares di -

vine on me poore wretch and sil - ly maide,

D 2

¹ Semibreve D in MS.

D 2

Some hope, some hope, a - las, of him to

have my hea - vy harte to aide. Pan -

- dol - pho, Pan - dol - pho, some pit - ty, Pan -

dol - pho, Some pit - ty, Pan - dol - pho; Frame
 els with fier - y flames your force on me you fu - ri - ous
 Fates, Vn - lesse my hat - ed hart have helpe, my

¹ Omitted in MS.

² MS. reads

hopes are but my fates [? hates] Pan - dol - pho,
 1 1
 Pan - dol - pho, Some pit - ty, Pan - dol - pho,
 Pan - dol - pho, Some pit - ty, Pan - dol - pho,
 Thus

¹ Semibreve E in MS. for E, F minimas.

² See note 2 on p. 87.

rest - lesse will I rest, ... in ruth ex-pect- inge what re - ,

- maynes If pit - ti-lesse then ples - sure -

- lesse, if pit - ty feole noe paine[s]. Pan -

¹ Omitted in MS.² F crotchet, E minim in MS.
• D in MS.

THE MUSICAL ANTIQUARY

- dol-pho, Pan - dol - pho, some pit - ty, Pan -
 - dol-pho, some pit - ty, Pan - dol-pho, some
 pit - ty, Pan - dol - pho, some pit - ty, Pan - dol - pho.

¹ Semibreve, not minim, in MS.

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS OF ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE, LONDON

SOME of the volumes published by the Harleian Society, in their very valuable series of Parish Registers, are not without interest to musical antiquaries. I have collected the entries of musical interest up to the year 1700 from the Registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate (which, the Society issued in 1904), and have added a few notes, taking the names in alphabetical order.

BAKER, JOHN, Trumpeter.

1652. Sep. 7. Dinah daughter of John Baker, Musician, and Dinah his wife (*baptised*).
1654. Sep. 24. Elizabeth d. of John Baker, Trumpeter, and Dinah his wife (*was born*).
1656. May 3. Elizabeth (*sic*) d. of John Baker, Wine Coop^r, and Dinah his wife (*was born*).
1666. Aug. 21. M^r Dionis wife of M^r Baker, trumpiter (*buried*).

John Baker was appointed one of the Trumpeters in Ordinary to Charles II, Dec. 19, 1661, in place of Anthony Franck (*The Musician*, July 21, 1897). His death occurred before June 27, 1679, when William Shore succeeded to his place. Several references to him will be found in the Rev. H. C. de Lafontaine's *The King's Musicke*.

BASSANO, JERONIMO.

1587-8. Jan. 18. Charles son of Jeronyme Bassano (*baptised*).
1588. Dec. 28. Edwarde s. of Jeronomy Bassano (*bapt.*).
1618. May 16. Toby Almye of S^t Clement in Eastcheape, London, skinner, and Dorcas Bassano of Walthamstowe, Essex, Mayden; by licence (*married*).

Jeronimo Bassano seems to have moved to Walthamstow with his family, as is shown by the following entry in Foster's *London Marriage Licences* :—

King, Thomas, gent., of Loughton, Essex, bachelor, 26, and Anne Bassano, of Waltham Holy Cross, Essex, spinster, 28, daughter of Jeronimo Bassano, of same, gent., who consents . . . at St. Martin Outwich. 15 Oct. 1628.

The following extracts from Foster's *Marriage Licences* probably refer to a younger generation of the same family, perhaps to Jeronimo's grand-daughter and daughter-in-law :—

Tucker, John, of Clifford's Inn, Middlesex, gent., 24, and Frances Bassano, spinster, 18, her parents dead, and she living with her brother, John Bassano, of Walthamstow, Essex, gent., who consents . . . 2 Dec. 1669.

Kinaston, Edward, of St. Alban, Wood Street, London, salter, bachelor, about 35, and Bridget Bassano, of Walthamstow, Essex, widow, about 30 . . . at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. 26 June, 1672.

The Bassano family was one of the numerous families of Italian musicians who settled in England in the sixteenth century. Five brothers, whose names are given as Alnixio or Alinxus (which seems to be a corruption of Aluisius or some form of Alvise, for he appears as Lewes in one list), Anthony, Jasper or Guasper, John, and John Baptist, also called Baptista, received appointments among the King's Musicians about the year 1539. They were Venetians, and seem to have come originally from the city of Bassano. In England they multiplied exceedingly; Nagel gives the names of seventeen who at one time or another held places among the Royal Musicians, and down to the time of the Commonwealth the list of Musicians is never without one at least of the name. One of them, Henry, continued to hold his place under Charles II until his death in 1665. There were also a good many of the family whose names are known who seem not to have been musicians. The Wills of Guasper (1577), Anthonye (1565), and Baptista (1575-6) are printed in *The Musician*, 1896. Anthonye names five sons in his Will: Mark Anthonye, Arthure, Edward, Androwe, and Jerome, as well as two daughters: the sons were all Royal Musicians. This Jerome we may suppose to be identical with the Jeronimo of St. Helen's Registers. The Edward of the Registers I should be inclined to identify with the Edward Bassano who was appointed Musician for the Wind Instruments upon surrender of Samuel Garsh in 1627, and is named again in 1628, 1630, and 1635. He died in 1638 (see *The King's Musicke*, p. 102). Jerome Bassano appears in the list of the King's Musicians as Musician for the Recorders, from 1603 to 1630, when he is described as 'the ancientist musician the King hath', and is excused from attending on 'play nights' (see *The King's Musicke*, p. 72; also Nagel's *Annalen der englischen Hofmusik*; and *The Musician*, 1896, pp. 36, 158, 198, and 298). Four instrumental Fancies à 5 by Hieronymo Bassano are in the Christ Church, Oxford, Library.

FARNABYE, GILES.

1587. May 28. Gyles Farnabye and Katharyne Roane (*married*).

I have no doubt, though there is nothing in the Registers to make the identification certain, that this is the well-known composer of Virginal music and Canzonets.

PARISH REGISTERS OF ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE 43

HAYWARD or HAWARD, JOHN and THOMAS, Virginal Makers.

1649. May 29. A fem. Childe of John Hayward Virginall maker (buried).

1656. Dec.-Jan. Thomas Haward of St. Hellen, Virginall maker, and Mary Leave [?] of Bishopsgate, maiden, were published in Leadenhall the 19th, 27th, December & third of January, and no exceptions, &c.

There are entries in the Registers relating to the family of a John Hawerd or Haward 'Joiner' who lost his wife, Maudlin, two children, and two servants in July, 1625, from plague. In 1626 his wife's name is given as 'Marlian'. This Joiner might be the same as the Virginall maker, or perhaps his father.

Charles Hayward or Hayward is the best known of this family of makers of Harpsichords and Spinets. An account of him will be found in Grove's *Dict. of Music* under 'Spinet', where instruments bearing his name are mentioned, and a quotation is given from Salmon's *Vindication of an Essay to the Advancement of Musick*, 1672, alluding to him. He was employed to mend 'the harpsicords and pedalls' in the Great Hall in the Privy Lodgings and for the private musick' in 1674 and 1675 (*The King's Musicke*, pp. 299 and 300). In Feb. 1660-1, Pepys went with some friends to Bishopsgate Street, to see a new Harpsicon which was being made there, for which £14 was asked. He went again in March 1667-8 'to Bishopsgate Streete, thinking to have found a Harpsicon-maker that used to live there before the fire, but he is gone, and I have a mind forthwith to have a little Harpsicon made', &c. On April 4, 1668, he went to Aldgate Street 'and there called upon one Hayward that makes Virginalls, and there did like of a little espinette and will have him finish it for me; for I had a mind to a small Harpsicon, but this takes up less room'. The Hayward whom Pepys employed may therefore be the same maker who lived in Bishopsgate Street before the great Fire of 1666. There is a definite allusion to 'Mr. John Hayward of London' in Mace's *Musick's Monument*, 1676, p. 235, as the inventor of an improved Harpsicon called the Pedal.

A most Excellent Kind of Instrument for a Consort, and far beyond all Harpsicons or Organs, that I ever yet heard of, (I mean either for Consort, or Single Use;) . . . Concerning This Instrument (call'd the Pedal because It is contrived to give Varieties with the Foot) I shall bestow a few Lines in making mention of, in regard It is not very commonly used, or known; because Few make of Them Well, and Fewer will go to the Price of Them: Twenty Pounds being the Ordinary Price of One, &c.

Mace goes on to describe it rather fully.

HUBBARD, ROBERT, Musician.

1606. Aug. 28. Robert Hubbard Musitian (*buried*).

He died of the plague. There are a good many references to his family in the Registers, and the Licence for his Marriage is thus given in Foster :—

Hubberd, Robert (Hubberde) of St. Michael, Cornhill, and Katherine Fuste, spinster, St. Stephen, Coleman Street . . . at St. Stephen aforesaid. 29 Nov. 1577.

I can find nothing about him. It is worth noting that he is called 'gentleman' in some entries; similarly Morley is called both 'musitian' and 'gentleman' in these Registers.

MORLEY, THOMAS, Musician.

1596. Aug. 19. Frauncys d. of Thomas Morley, Musition (*bapt.*).

1599. June 26. Christofer s. of Thomas Morley, gentleman, and Suzan his wyfe (*bapt.*).

1600. July 28. Anne d. of Thomas Morley, gentleman, and Suzan his wyfe (*bapt.*).

1598-9. Feb. 9. Frauncis d. of Thomas Morley, gent. (*buried*) 'close to the Paraphrase on the north side thereof'.

For this well-known musician see the new edition of Grove's *Dictionary*. He carried on his music-printing business in Little St. Helen's, in this parish.

WARNER, THOMAS, Musician.

1661-2. Mar. 24. Thomas Warner Misisoner (*buried*) in the Church-yard by his Wife.

Entries relating to the Baptism and Burial of his children occur between 1631 and 1641. I have not been able to find out anything about Thomas Warner.

G. E. P. A.

ROBERT DOULAND'S MUSICALL BANQUET, 1610

ROBERT DOWLAND, or Douland as he always spells the name, was the son of John Dowland, the famous lutenist and composer. Little is known about his life. Sir Robert Sidney was his godfather, and Sir Thomas Mounson interested himself in his education during his father's absence from England: to the latter, therefore, he dedicated his 'first labours', the *Varietie of Lute-lessons*, 1610; to the former his *Musicall Banquet*, published in the same year. He succeeded his father as one of the King's Musicians for the Lute in 1626, and in the same year obtained a licence to marry Jane Smalley at St. Faith's Church, London, both being described as 'of St. Anne, Blackfriars'. He died before Michaelmas, 1641, for his successor, Mercure, received half a year's salary at Lady Day, 1642.

Sept. 24

As a lute-player Robert Douland never attained his father's fame, and he seems to have composed but little; one lute piece bearing his name is to be found in a Nuremberg publication of 1615, but apparently nothing else of his is known. Nevertheless, both the collections of which he was the editor are of some interest, and are among the more attractive of the lesser-known music books of the period. Nothing need be said now about the *Varietie of Lute-lessons*. Some account of the *Musicall Banquet*, from which four songs are printed in this volume, may be given to supplement the rather incomplete description of it which Rimbault gives in his *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*.

The title-page is ornamented with the same architectural design which appears on many of the lute-books of the period; it is a kind of framework, on each side of which is a male and a female terminal figure placed on a base which bears bas-reliefs of David on one side and Samson on the other. In the oval space at the top of the design is the group of instruments with the motto 'Mvsica lœtitiat cor', which is found in a similar position in other lute-books (e.g. Coprario's *Songs of Mourning*, 1618), and of which the block passed into Playford's hands, whose title-pages it frequently adorns in a very much smudged condition. The central space between the terminal figures contains the title 'A MVSICALL BANQVET. Furnished with varietie of delicious Ayres, Collected out of the best Authors in English, French, Spanish and Italian. By Robert Douland.' In the oblong space below, 'LONDON: Printed for Thomas Adams. 1610.'

[Dedication.] To the Right Honorable Syr Robert Sydney, Knight: Lord Gouernour of Vlissingen, and the Castle of Ramekins, Lord Sydney of Penshurst, Viscount Lisle, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

Right Honourable Lord: Since my best abilitie is not able in the least manner to counteruiale that dutie J owe vnto your Lordship, for two great respects; the one in regard (your Lordship vndertaking for mee) J was made a member of the Church of Christ, and withall receiued from you my name: the other the loue that you beare to all excellency and good learning, (which seemeth hereditarie aboue others to the Noble Familie of the *Sydneyes*,) and especially to this excellent Science of Musick, a skill from all antiquity entartayned with the most Noble and generous dispositions. May it please your Honour therefore to accept these few, and my first labours, as a poore pledge of that zeale and dutie which J shall euer owe vnto your Honour, vntill time shall enable me to effect something more worthy of your Lordships view, hauing no other thing saue these few sheetes of Paper to present the same withall. To your Honour in all dutie most deuoted,
Robert Douland.

TO THE READER.

GENTLEMEN: Finding my selfe not deceiued in the hope I had of your kinde entartayning my collected Lute-lessons which I lately set foorth, I am further encouraged to publish vnto your censures these AYRES, being collected and gathered out of the labours of the rarest and most iudicious Maisters of Musick that either now are or haue lately liued in Christendome, whereof some I haue purposely sorted to the capacitie of young practitioners [sic], the rest by degrees are of greater depth and skill, so that like a carefull Confectionary, as neere as might be I haue fitted my Banquet for all tastes; if happily I shall be distasted by any, let them know what is brought vnto them is drest after the English, French, Spanish and Italian manner: the assay is taken before, they shall not need to feare poysoning. You Gentlemen and friends that come in good-will, and not as Promooters into a country Market, to call our viandas into question, whatsoever here is, much good may it doe you, I would it were better for you: for the rest I wish their lips such Lettuce as *Silenus Asse*, or their owne harts would desire. Thine, *Robert Douland.*

Ad Robertum Doulandum Joannis filium de Musico suo conuiuio.
Ergone diuini genitoris plectra resumis,
Reddat vt attonitos iterum tua Musa Britannos?
Vt nimia totum rapias dulcedine mundum,
DOVLANDI & resonet nomen nemus omne, superbam
Qua mundi dominam vaga TIBRIDIS alluit vnda;
Littora qua rutilis verrit Pactolus arenis,
Aut sese immiscet glaciali Vistula ponto,
Vincere quem nequeat LINVS, nec Thracius ORPHEVS,
Credo equidem, vt nostras demulceat Entheus aures.
Somnio Threicidum voces, & murmura coeli

Antiquosq; modos, rediuiuasq; Dorica castra,
 Illius vt vario cantillet gutture Musa,
 Macte animo ROBERTE tuo, charis parentis
 Pergito candorem, moresq; imitarier artes
 Auspiciisq; bonis celebret te fama per orbem
 Funera post Patri Phoenixq; renascitor alter.

Henricus Peachamus.

The volume thus dedicated and commended contains in all twenty-one compositions. The first, however, which is not a song but a piece for the lute, is not numbered. This is called in the Table on the last page of the volume 'Syr Robert Sidney his Galliard', having been written (we may suppose) before he became a peer; in the book it is called 'The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Lord Chamberlaine to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, his Galliard'. The composer was John Douland. The numbering begins with the songs.

1. *My heauie sprite.* The words by 'The Right Honourable George [Clifford] Earle of Cumberland': the music by Anthony Holborne. This 'Most famous and perfect artist', as he is called in the *Varietie of Lute-lessons*, was Gentleman Usher to Q. Elizabeth, and published in 1597 a work called *The Cittharn School*. Compositions by him are to be found in the collections of MS. Lute-music in the British Museum and Cambridge University Library (Dd. 13. 11 : ix. 33).

2. *Change thy Mind.* Words by 'The Rt. Hon. Robert Earle of Essex, Earle Marshall of England'. Music by Richard Martin. No musician of this name is known, but there was a Richard Martin, of the Middle Temple, M.P. for Barnstaple, and finally Recorder of London, who was famous in his day as a wit; 'there was no person in his time more celebrated for ingenuity,' says Anthony Wood; 'K. James was much delighted with his facetiousness.' He was Prince d'amour in some Christmas Revels given at the Middle Temple, and was one of the 'chief doers and undertakers' in a masque presented before the King in Feb. 1612-3, in which both Robert Douland and his father took part as Lute-players (see the *Musical Times*, Jan. 1906). He wrote poems, and it is quite likely that a man of such varied accomplishments was the composer of this song. (See Nicols's *Progresses of King James*, ii. 589; Wood's *Athenae Oxon.*; and the *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*)

3. *O eyes leave off your weeping.* Words Anonymous. Music by 'Robert Hales Groome of her Majesties Privie Chamber'. Robert Hales was appointed one of the Queen's Musicians July 8, 1588, with a salary of £40 a year. Nicholas Lanier succeeded to the place of 'Robert Hale, deceased', January 12, 1615-16. (*Audit Office Declared Accounts.*) [See below, No. 8.]

4. *Goe my Flocke.* Words by 'Sir Phillip Sidney'; music, 'D'incerto.' Sir Philip Sidney was elder brother to Sir Robert.

5. *O Deere life when shall it be.* Words by Sir Philip Sydney; music, 'D'incerto.'

6. *To plead my faith.* Words by the Earl of Essex; music by 'M. Daniell Batchelar, Groome of her Maiesties Priuie Chamber'. Compositions by him for the lute are to be found in the Cambridge University Library (Dd. ix. 33); in William Ballet's *Lute-book*, Trin. Coll. Dublin; and Jane Pickering's *Lute-book*, B.M. Egerton, 2046.

7. *In a grove.* Words by Sir Philip Sidney; music by 'Tesseir'. Charles Tessier published *Airs et Villanelles*, Paris, 1604 (see Eitner); he was a French composer who seems to have travelled. Note the discord on the words 'Flowers fresh growing', also the anticipation of the final note in voice part at the closes. This anticipation is also found in the following song by Dowland.

8. *Farre from triumphing Court.* Words by 'Sir Henry Lea'; music by 'Mr. John Douland Batchelar of Musicke'. Sir Henry Lee made a vow in 1559 that he would maintain Q. Elizabeth's honour against all comers, and was accepted by the queen as her champion. In 1590, when he was sixty years old, he resigned his championship to the Earl of Cumberland (the author of the first poem in the *Musicall Banquet*), on which occasion was sung on behalf of Sir Henry Lee the well-known poem beginning 'His golden locks time hath to silver turn'd', which is printed among the works of George Peele, and was set to music by John Dowland and printed by him in his *First Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1597. Whether Dowland's was the original music or not, on the occasion of Sir Henry Lee's retirement the verses were 'pronounced and sung by M. Hales her maiesties seruant, a gentleman in that arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable'. This was probably the composer of the third song in the *Musicall Banquet*. Sir Henry Wotton, in his Parallel between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham, says that a sonnet of the earl's was upon a certain occasion sung before the queen by one Hales, in whose voice she took some pleasure (Hawkins, *History*, iii. 407). Sir Henry Lee, who lived for twenty years after his resignation of the championship, seems to have designed the present poem as a sequel to the former, introducing by the way a compliment to James I's queen. He died in Feb. 1610, the year of the publication of the *Musicall Banquet*.

The music is a good specimen of Dowland's declamatory manner. One curious feature about it is that though it is admirably fitted to the first verse, it will not fit the other verses at all without a great deal of manipulation either of the words or the music. Dowland must have

been very careless, or else he must have been more willing to rely on the intelligence and ingenuity of his singers than modern composers would be disposed to do.

- 9. *Lady if you so spight me.* } Music by M. John Douland
- 10. *In darknesse let mee dwell.* } Batchelar of Musicke.
- 11. *Airs du Court. Si le parler & le silence.* D'incerto.
- 12. *Airs du Court. Ce penser qui sans fin.* D'incerto.
- 13. *Airs du Court. Vous que le bon heur.* D'incerto.
- 14. *Espagnol. Passaua amor.*
- 15. *Espagnol. Sta note mien yaua.*
- 16. *Espagnol. Vestros Oios tienen d'Amor.*
- 17. Italien. Dominico Maria Megli, *Se di farmi morire* [from *Le Seconde Mvsiche del Signor Domenico Maria Melli Reggiano*, Venice, 1609. See *Vogel*].
- 18. Italien. Giulio Caccini detto Romano, *From Le Nuove Mv-
Dourd dunque morire?* } *siche di Givlio Cac-*
- 19. Giulio Caccini detto Romano, *Amarilli* } *cini detto Romano,*
mia bella. Florence, 1601.
- 20. Italien. D'incerto, *O bella pipiu che la stella.*

The songs in the *Musicall Banquet* are written for a solo voice with an accompaniment generally for lute and an unnamed bass instrument, which we may assume to be the bass viol, but sometimes the bass part is supplied with words and is to be sung. The parts are disposed on the pages in the manner usually adopted at the time; that is to say, when the book lies open, the voice part with the lute accompaniment beneath it is on the left-hand page, so that the singer can accompany himself on the lute. The bassus part is placed sideways on the right-hand page, so that the bass viol player or bass singer can look over the same book.

There is one peculiarity about the printing of these songs which is certainly not usual, though it may not be so uncommon as one might suppose. The voice part is sometimes printed (to use modern language) in one key and the instrumental parts, both lute and bass parts, in another. This is a curious sign of the transition through which music was then passing. The old modal writers allowed transposition, that is to say, exact reproduction in another position, but only on condition that when transposed the piece of music could still be sol-fa'ed in accordance with the Gam, as it was taught to young students. Morley has some interesting remarks upon the subject. On p. 155 of his *Plaine and easie Introduction* he finds fault with his pupil's exercise thus:—

The musicke is indeede true: but you have set it in such a key as no man would have done, except it had beene to have plaid it on

the Organes with a quire of singing men: for indeede to such shifstes the Organistes are many times compelled to make for ease of the singers. But some have brought it from the Organe, and have gone about to bring it in common use of singing with bad successe if they respect their credite: for take me any of their songes, so set downe and you shall not finde a musician (how perfect soever hee be) able to *sol fa* it right. . . . And as for them who have not practised that kinde of songes, the verie sight of those flat clifffes (which stand at the beginninge of the verse or line like a paire of staires, with great offence to the eie, but more to the amasing of the young singer) make them mistearme their notes and so go out of tune; whereas by the contrarie if your song were prickt in another key, any young scholler might easily and perfectly sing it: and what can they possibly do with such a number of flat \flat , which I could not as well bring to passe by pricking the song a note higher?

It was of course this very practice of transposition, which was admitted with such reluctance, upon which the modern key system is built: but at the time when Douland was compiling his book it was apparently thought admissible to write out music for instruments in such a position as necessitated a number of flats in the signature, but not for the voice. Hence arises (we must suppose) the odd looking compromise which Douland uses; he prints the voice part in some position which requires only one flat in the signature; in the bass instrument part he writes as many as three flats, which, when the flats are repeated in each octave where they are wanted, has a very 'amasing' effect, wonderfully like a 'paire of staires'; in the lute part, of course, there are no flats in the signature, for in lute tablature each semitone has its own sign which players read as they go along without reference to any signature. The singer's part, then, in these cases has to be transposed to agree with the instrumental parts, and this has been done in the arrangement of the second song given in this volume.¹ The other songs are left as Douland printed them.

¹ One more peculiarity, which may be connected with the other, should be mentioned. In the lute part of each song, in front of the signature, is printed one note in brackets, in the lute notation. It is difficult to find an explanation which suits every case, but it seems probable that the lute-player sounds it as the note on which the singer starts. Where, as happens once at least, this is not the case, there is probably a misprint in the old edition.

ROBERT DOULAND'S MUSICAL BANQUET, 1610 51

(2) [Words by] The Rt. Hon. ROBERT EARL OF ESSEX
Earl Marshall of England.

[Music by]
RICHARD MARTIN.

Voice.

1. Change thy mind since she doth change, Let not thy un-truth can - not seeme strange When her Fan - cy still a - buse thee: fals - hood doth ex - cuse thee. Love is dead and thou art free, She doth live, but dead to thee.

2. Whilst she lov'd thee best a while, See how she hath still delaid thee: Using shewes for to beguile, [thee. Those vaine hopes that have deceiv'd Now thou seest, although too late, Love loves truth which women hate.

3. Love no more, since she is gone, Shee is gone and loves another: Being once deceiv'd by one, Leave her love, but love none other. She was false: bid her adew; She was best, but yet untrue.

4. Love farewell more deere to mee Then my life which thou preservest: Life all joyes are gone from thee, Others have what thou deservest. Oh my death doth spring from hence I must dye for her offence.

5. Dye, but yet before thou dye Make her know what she hath gotten: She in whom my hopes did lye, Now is chang'd, I quite forgotten. She is chang'd, but changed base, Baser in so vilde a place.

THE MUSICAL ANTIQUARY

(3)

By ROBERT HALES,
Groome of her majesties Privie Chamber.

Voice.

1. O eyes, leave off your weeping, Love hath the thoughts in keep - ing That

Lute.

may con-tent you : Let not this miscon - ceiv-ing Where com-forts are re -

2

- ceiv - ing Cause - les tor - ment you. Let you.

3 3 1st 2nd

1st 2nd

1st 2nd

2 Cloudes threaten but a shower,
Hope hath his happy hour,
Though long in lasting.
Time needs must be attended,
Love must not be offended
With too much hasting.

3 But O the painfull pleasure,
Where Love attends the pleasure
Of lives wretchednesse :
Where Hope is but illusion,
And Feare is but confusion
Of Loves happiness.

4 But happy Hope that seeth
How Hope and Hap agreeeth.
Of life deprive me,
Or let me be assured,
When life hath death endured,
Love will revive me.

¹ These notes are 4 minims in the original. ² This G is omitted in the original.
³ These two notes are quavers in the original.

ROBERT DOULAND'S MUSICAL BANQUET, 1610 53

70

SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY.
Voice.

THEATRE

Voice.

In a grove most rich of shade, Where Birds wanton mu - sicke . . .

Lute.

made, May then in his pide weeds shew - ing, New per -

fumes with flowers fresh grow - ing. May then in his pide weeds

shew - ing New per-fumes with flowers fresh grow - ing.

THE MUSICAL ANTIQUARY

(8)

[Words by]
Sir HENRY LEA.

Voice.

[Music by]
Mr. JOHN DOULAND,
Batchelar of Musick.

1. Farre from triumphing Court.. and wont - ed glo -

ry, Hedwelt in sha - die un - fre-quent - ed pla - ces,

Times prisoner now he made his.. pas - time sto - ry,

Glad - ly for - gets Courts erst af - ford - ed gra - ces,

That God - desse whom he servde to heav'n is

gone . . . And hee . . on earth, And hee .

on earth in dark - nesse left . . to meane.

2 But loe a glorious light from his darke rest
 Shone from the place where erst this Goddesse dwelt
 A light whose beames the world with fruit hath blent
 Blest was the Knight while he that light beheld:
 Since then a starre fixed on his head hath shinde,
 And a Saints Image in his hart is shrinde.

3 Ravisht with joy so gracie by such a Saint,
 He quite forgot his Cell and seife denaid,
 He thought it shame in thankfulnessse to faint,
 Debts due to Princess must be dueley paid:
 Nothing so hatefull to a noble minde
 As finding kindnesse for to prove unkinde.

4 But ah poore Knight though thus in dreame he ranged,
 Hoping to serve this Saint in sort most meek,
 Tyme with his golden locks to silver changed
 Hath with age-fetters bound him, hands and feet,
 Aye me, hee cryes, Goddesse my limbs grow faint,
 Though I times prisoner be, be you my Saint.

LISTS OF THE KING'S MUSICIANS, FROM THE AUDIT OFFICE DECLARED ACCOUNTS

IT is only of late years that the documents preserved in the Public Record Office, which bear upon the Court Musicians, have received much attention. Burney and Hawkins, it is true, printed a few lists of Musicians in their Histories, and Cunningham, in his *Accounts of the Revels at Court* (Shakespeare Soc., 1842), gives some extracts relating to a few of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Musicians. But it was not until Dr. Wilibald Nagel published his *Annalen der englischen Hofmusik* in 1894 that any serious attempt was made to deal with the subject. Since that date Mr. Charles Gatty published in *The Musician*, 1897, lists of Musicians, chiefly of the Restoration period. The most important work, however, treating of 'The King's Musicie' is the volume recently published under that name, compiled from documents in the Record Office by the Rev. H. C. de Lafontaine. This is an invaluable work for musical antiquaries, but it does not provide a consecutive list of the Musicians, such as is supplied by the Audit Office Declared Accounts, which give their names as year by year they received their pay, and supply the dates of the appointments of new Musicians as they succeeded the old ones. These lists, in fact, are a useful supplement to the already published records.

They are here printed in a condensed form, and have been prepared for *The Musical Antiquary* from the documents at the Record Office by Miss E. Stokes. The lists will be printed in order down to 1642. Afterwards it may be possible to return to the date of the establishment of the Musicians under Henry VIII, and give such lists as there are down to the accession of Elizabeth; but the system of Declared Accounts was not then in existence, and the earlier lists will have to be collected from other series.

Audit Office. Declared Accounts. Bundle 380. No. 1.
Declaration of the account of Sir John Masone, knight, P. C. from Michaelmas 5 & 6 Philip & Mary till Michaelmas 2 Elizabeth [1580].

Payments to:—

Trumpeters:—(by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's warraunte dormaunte durañ bñplit, dated 31 May, 1 Eliz.) Benedicte Browne, serjeant trumpeter, John Tucke, Peter Fruncer, John Peaches, Thomas Browne,

Arthure Skarlet, John Warren, Henry Reave, Richard Lane, Stephen Medcalffe, John Hall, Edwarde Ellyott, Richard Frende, John Winckes, Edmund Lynsey, and Robert Tyrren, 16 trumpeters at 16*d* a day and Thomas Westcrosse at 8*d* a day, all which said wages due for two years, ending Michaelmas 2. [Eliz.].

Violins :—(by warrant dormant durañ bñplis, dated 4. March 1 [Eliz.]) Albret de Venytia at 20*d* a day for three quarters of a year, ending midsummer 1 [Eliz.] & for 9 days after, at which time he deceased.

Ambrose de Myllane (by virtue of the said warrant) at 20*d* a day, due for two years, ending Michaelmas 2 [Eliz.].

Frauncisco de Venitia, (by virtue of the said warrant) for a like time and rate.

Paull Galliardello, & Marc Ant^o, similarly.

Innocent de Comy (by virtue of the said warrant) at 12*d* a day due for the said two years; also by warrant dormant, dated 12 May 1 [Eliz.] for his wages at 8*d* a day, due for 2 years & three quarters, ending Mich. 2 [Eliz.].

George de Comy, by warrant, dormant, dated 12 May 1 [Eliz.] at 12*d* a day for 2 years & three quarters as aforesaid.

Flutes :—By virtue of a warrant dormant, dated 2 May 1 [Eliz.] Gilliam Duvete & Gilliam Trothes at 14*d* a day Pietro Guy at 2*s* 8*d* a day, Thomas Packington and Allen Robson at 12*d* a day, due for 2 years & three quarters ending Michaelmas 2 [Eliz.].

Sagbuttes :—By warrant dormant, dated 9. January 2. [Eliz.] Anthony Maria at 16*d* a day, for two years, ending Michaelmas 2 [Eliz.].

By warrant dormant, during life, dated 30 September 1 [Eliz.] Nicholas Coteman & John Peacocke at 8*d* a day & to Robert Maye at 6*d* a day, due for two years, ending Michaelmas 2 [Eliz.].

Harper :—William Moore, (by warrant dormant dated 3 June 1 [Eliz.]) at 12*d* a day to be paid quarterly, during life, paid for 2 years & three quarters ended Michaelmas 2 [Eliz.].

Audit Office. Declared Accounts. Bundle 380. No. 2.

Declaration of the account of Sir John Masone, knight P. C. from Michaelmas 2 Elizabeth [1560] to Michaelmas following.

Payments to :—

Trumpeters :—Benedicke Browne, Sergeant Trumpeter, Peter Fraunces, John Peaches, Thomas Browne, Arthure Skarlet, John Warren, Henrye Reve, Richard Lane, Stephen Metcauffe, John Hall, Edward Elliot, Richard Frende, John Winckes, Edmund Lynsey and Robert Tyrren (15 trumpeters).

Thomas Westcrosse.

John Bestan at 8*d* a day, by warrant dormant, dated 24 December 8 [Eliz.].

Violins—Ambrose de Millan, Fraunces de Venitia, Paule Galliardello, Marke Ant^o (?) and Innocente de Comy.

George Comy.

Thomas Browne, musician for the 'voyall^s', by warrant dormant, during life, dated 2. January 8 [Eliz.] at 20*l* a year, due for one year.

Flutes—Gill^{am} Duvete and Gill^{am} Troches.

Pietro Guy.

Thomas Packington & Allen Robson.

James Funyard, by warrant dormant, 31 December 2. [Eliz.] at 20*d* a day to be paid quarterly, due from 30 November 1 [Eliz.] viz.—2 years 8 quarters & 24 days, ending Michaelmas 3 [Eliz.].

Sagbuttes—Anthony Maria.

Nicholas Coteman & John Peacocke.

Robert Maye.

Edwarde Petaler & Robert Howlett 'in the Romethes of' Edwarde Devys & Richard Welshe deceased at 8*d* a day.

To Robert Maye, aforesaid, in augmentation of his wages at 2*d* a day, due for 2 years & 8 quarters ended Michaelmas 3 [Eliz.] by warrant dormant, dated 4. Jan. 3 [Eliz.].

Musicians—William Moore, harper;

Richard Woodwarde & Robert Woodwarde, musicians, at 8*d* a day, & Richard Pike, musician at 12*d* a day, due from Christmas 1557 viz, three years & 8 quarters, ended at the said feast [Michaelmas] by warrant dormant, dated 27. March 2. [Eliz.].

Entrelude-players—John Browne, Edmunde Strowdewike, John Smythe, & William Readinge at 66*s* 8*d* a year & 28*s* 4*d* for their livery, yearly to be paid quarterly, due for 1 year & 8 quarters, ending Michaelmas 3. [Eliz.], by warrant dormant, dated 25. December 2 [Eliz.].

Audit Office. Declared Accounts. Bundle 380. No. 3.

Declaration of the account of Sir John Masone, knight, treasurer of the Chamber and M^r of the Posts, for one year ending Michaelmas 4. Elizabeth [1562].

Payments to:—

Trumpeters—Benedicte Browne, sergeant trumpeter, Petre Fraunces, John Peaches, Thomas Browne, Arthur Scarlett, John Waren, Henry Reve, Richarde Lane, Stephen Metcalf, John Hall, Edwarde Elliott, Richarde Frende, John Wink^e, Edmond Lyndsey & Robert Tyrren, 15 trumpeters.

Thomas Westcrosse & John Bestane.

Violins—Ambrose de Millan, Fraunces de Venicia, Paule Galliardello, Marke Ant^o & Innocent de Comy.

George Comy.

Thomas Browne, musician for the violes.

Flutes :—Gillam Douett.

Pietro Guye.

Tho Pakington & Alen Robsen.

James Funyarde.

Nicholas Lanyare 'in the Rometh' of Gillam Troches, deceased by warrant dormant, dated 25 October 8 [Eliz.], during life at 20*d* a day for his Boorde wages yearly 7*£* 11*s* 8*d* & for livery yearly 18*£* 6*s* 8*d* to be paid quarterly, due for one year ending Michaelmas 4 [Eliz.].

Also to the said Nicholas Lanyar, by virtue of the said warrant in waye of Rewarde for this time only 18*£* 6*s* 8*d*.

Sagbuttes :—Anthony Maria.

Nicholas Coteman & John Pecocke.

Robert Maye.

Edwarde Petala and Robert Howlett.

To Robert Maye in augmentation.

Musicians :—William More, harper.

Richard Woodwarde & Robert Woodwarde, musicians.

Richard Pyke, musician.

Interlude-players :—John Browne, Edmonde Strowdwicke, John Smith, & William Reading.

Audit Office. Declared Accounts. Bundle 380. No. 4.

Declaration of the account of Sir John Masone, knt, P.C. for one year ending Michaelmas 7 Elizabeth [1565].

Payments to :—

Trumpeters :—Benedyke Browne, sergeant trumpeter, John Peaches, Thomas Browne, John Warren, Arthure Skarlet, Henrye Reave, Stephen Medcalfe, John Hall, Edwarde Ellyotte, Richarde Frende, John Winckes, Roberte Tyrren, Thomas Westcrosse, 18 in number.

John Restan.

Peter Fraunces & Richarde Lane deceased, at 16*d* a day viz to the said Peter for half a year & 76 days, ending 8 June 7 [Eliz.] on which day he died & to the said Richard for 3 quarters & 43 days ending 5 August 7 [Eliz.] 'on which day he departed'. To the said John Restan and Henry Hewes, trumpeters, by warrant dormant, dated 11 February 6 [Eliz.], at 8*d* a day, for two years & a quarter ending Mich. 7. [Eliz.].

Violins :—Ambrose de Myllan, Marcke Anthonye Frauncise de Venetia, Innocent de Comy.

Joseph Lupo 'Italion', at 20*d* a day, by warrant, dated 16 November 5 [Eliz.].

George de Comy.

Thomas Browne 'musicōn for the violens'.

To the said Ambrose de Millan, violin, Marcke Anthony, Fraunciseo de Venetia, Innocent de Comy, George de Comy, and Josepho Lupo, by warrant dormant, dated 12 December 7 [Eliz.] for allowance of the

apparell, accustomed to be paid out of the great wardrobe at 16*i* 2*s* 6*d* a year to each, due for one year ending Christmas 7 [Eliz:] & for three quarters ending Michaelmas 7. [Eliz:].

Flutes :—Gilliam Duvett.

Petro Guye.

Thomas Pakington & Allen Robson.

James Funarde.

Nicholas Lannyer.

Sagbuttes :—[Name torn away].

Robert Maye, Edward Petalla, Robert Howlett.

John Peacocke, deceased, at like rate, by warrant dormant dated 30. September 1 [Eliz:] for one quarter and 13 days, ending 6. January 7 [Eliz:], on which day he deceased.

John Lannyer at 16*d* a day & 4*d* a day board wages by warrant dormant, dated 20 October 5 [Eliz.].

Ralfe Greene in the room of John Peacocke deceased, at 16*d* a day & 4*d* a day for board due from 6. Jan. 1564[—5], for half a year & 78 days ending Mich 7. [Eliz:] by warrant dormant dated 2. February 7 [Eliz:].

Musicians :—William Moore, harper, due for half a year ending at The Annunciation 7. [Eliz:] at which time he died.

Richarde Woodwarde & Robert Woodwarde.

Richard Pike.

Anthonye de Choutye, musician at 20*d* a day, payable quarterly during life, by warrant dormant, dated 22 Feb: 5 [Eliz.].

Anthonye Bassani, Jaspar Bassani, John Bassani, Bap^{ta} Bassani, Augustine Bassani, Lodouico Bassani, & Anthonye Maria, musicians by warrant dormant, dated 12 December 7 [Eliz:] at 16*i* 2*s* 6*d* a year for apparell accustomed to be paid out of the great wardrobe, in lieu of their liveries due for one year ending Christmas 7. [Eliz:] & for 3 quarters ending Michaelmas at the same rate.

Interlude-players :—Edwarde Strowdewike & John Smythe.

Audit Office. Declared Accounts. Bundle 380. No. 5.

Declaration of the account of the Lady Elizabeth Masone, widow, late wife and executrix of Sir John Masone, knight, deceased, late treasurer of the chamber and 'Master of the Poostes', from Michaelmas 7 Elizabeth till 21 April, following 8 Eliz. [1566], which day the said Sir John Masone 'departed his naturall lyfe', that is for one half year & 27 days.

Payments to:—

Trumpeters :—Benedyke Browne, sergeant trumpeter, John Peaches, Thomas Browne, John Warren, Arthur Skarlet, Henrye Reave, Stephen Medcalf, John Hall, Edwarde Ellyott, Richarde Frende, John Winckes, Roberte Tyrren, Thomas Westcrosse, & John Restan, 14 in number, due for half a year, ending at the Annunciation of our Lady. 8. [Eliz.].

Henrye Hewys, trumpeter, by warrant dormant, dated 12 August

7 [Eliz:] at 16d a day, due from the death of Peter Fraunces, trumpeter, deceased, being the 8th day of June last until Mich^g 7 [Eliz:] i.e. 118 days at 8d a day and also half a year at 16d a day, to Lady Day 8 [Eliz:].

Richard Smythe, trumpeter, by warrant dormant, 12 Aug: 7. [Eliz:] at 8d a day, from the death of Peter Fraunces trumpeter, deceased, to Mich^g 7 [Eliz:] & for half a year ending Lady Day 8 [Eliz:].

John Newman, trumpeter, in the room of Richarde Lane deceased, by warrant dormant, dated 27 August 7 [Eliz:] at 8d a day, being one half the said Lane's wages, due from the death of the said Lane, being 5th August, till Mich^g 7 [Eliz:] i.e. 55 days & for half a year ending Lady Day, 8 [Eliz:].

Thomas Restan, trumpeter, at 8d being the other half of Richard Lane's wages, by warrant dormant of 27 Aug. 7 [Eliz:], due for the like time as the said John Neweman.

Violins :—Ambrose de Myllan, Marcke Anthonye, Frauncise de Venetia & Innocente de Comy, Josepho Lupo 'Italyon', due for half a year ending Lady Day 8 [Eliz:].

George de Comye, violin, for the said time.

Thomas Browne, musician for the violins, for the said time.

To the said Ambrose de Millan, Marcke Anthonye, Frauncisco de Venetia, Innocent de Comy, George de Comy & Josepho Lupo, for their apparel.

Flutes :—Gillam Duvett, Petro Guye, Thomas Packington, & Allen Robsonne.

James Funyarde.

Nicholas Lannyer.

Sagbuttes :—Anthonye Maria.

John Lannyer.

Raphe Greane.

Robert Maye, Edwarde Petalla, Robert Howlet.

Musicians :—Richarde Woodwarde, & Robert Woodwarde.

Richarde Pyke.

Anthonye de Choutye.

Anthonye Bassany, Jasper Bassany, John Bassany, Baptista Bassani, August Bassani, Lodovico Bassani, and Anthonye Maria.

Entreludeplaiers :—Edmunde Strowdewike and John Smythe.

(To be continued)

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES

Date of John Field's début. All musical authorities give 1794 for the first appearance of Field as a prodigy pianist; but the correct date is two years earlier, namely April 4, 1792, when he made his débüt at a Concert in the Rotunda, Dublin, for the benefit of Giordani.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Geminiani's death and burial. Francesco Geminiani died at his lodgings in Dublin on September 17, 1762. A recent search in the Parish Registers of St. Andrew's, Dublin, reveals the fact that he was buried in St. Andrew's Church on September 19. A splendid portrait of Geminiani was painted by James Latham of Dublin in 1738.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

QUERIES

Composers of tunes wanted. I shall be glad if any reader can tell me who composed the music of 'All about the Maypole'; 'The Belleisle March'; and 'Pray Goody'.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

The Birthplace of Orlando Gibbons. What is the evidence that Orlando Gibbons was born at Cambridge? In the Registers of St. Martin's, Oxford, is entered the baptism of 'Orlando Gybbons 25 Dec. 1583' (I quote from Wood's *City of Oxford*, iii. 228). Is it likely that two children of this unusual name were christened in the same year? Of course he may have been born at Oxford, although his parents were Cambridge people.

STUDENT.

Wills of English Musicians before 1800. The following wills of early musicians and members of their families have been printed. The list is probably very incomplete, and I should be grateful for any additions to it.

In *The Musician*, 1897: William Byrde (June 2); Jasper Bassanye (June 30); Joane, widow of Thomas Tallis (July 7); Anthonye Bassanye (July 14); Clement Laniere (July 14); Baptista Bassanye (Aug. 18); John Strong, of the King's Musicians, abstract (Sept. 22).

In *The Old English Edition*: Robert and Ellen White, No. XXI (abstracts of these are also in Grove, App. 'White'); George Kirbye, abstract, No. V; Thomas Weelkes, No. XIII.

In *The Musical Times*: G. F. Handel (Dec. 14, 1893); Dr. John Blow (Feb. 1, 1902).

In Dr. Cummings's *Life of Purcell*, Great Musicians Series: Henry Purcell.

STUDENT.





